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The Bombay Chronicle

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THE CINEMA YOU OUGHT TO SEE.

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA IN 1912

VOL. XIII NO. 2-

BOMBAY FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1925.

TWO ANNAS

Bombay Chronicle

Business Notices.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS intended for publication in the "Bombay Chronicle" must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. In preparing manuscripts correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only, and to address their communications to the EDITOR, and not to any member of the staff by name. Attention to this rule will save much inconvenience and delay.

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The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications unless a stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for the purpose.

BUSINESS communications of every kind (advertisements, changes of address, etc.) should be addressed to the MANAGER. Advertisements intended for insertion in the next day's paper must reach the Office not later than 5 p.m.

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Date.	Steamer.	Connecting at Aden with	Tons.
12th	CALEDONIA*	MONGOLIA*	7,322
16th	CHINA	MOOLTAN*	10,325
17th	NAKUNDA	MACEDONIA*	10,227
24th	CHINA	MACEDONIA*	11,088
31st	NALDERA	MOLDAVIA*	15,988
1st Feb.	CHINA	MOLDAVIA*	16,227
14th	KAISAR-I-HIND	MANTUA*	11,430
21st	DEVANHA	MORKE*	10,911
28th	CHINA	MOOLTAN*	7,322
1st March	DONGOLA	MOOLTAN*	20,847
1st	CALEDONIA	MALWA*	10,911
2nd	DELTA	Extra Steamer	8,092
25th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	8,092
28th	NAKUNDA	Extra Steamer	10,227
1st April	DONGOLA	Extra Steamer	20,847
1st	NALDERA	Extra Steamer	15,988
1st	KAISAR-I-HIND	Extra Steamer	11,430
2nd May	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
9th	KAISAR-I-HIND	Extra Steamer	11,430
16th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
23rd	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
30th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
6th June	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
13th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
20th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911
27th	DEVANHA	Extra Steamer	10,911

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* Through steamers from China, have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

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Bombay to Port Said and Plymouth.

Date about.	Steamer.	Tons.
1st Jan.	BOYNE*	8,415
5th Feb.	NARINGA*	8,415
19th	MORVADA*	8,415
5th March	MANDALA*	8,415
19th	MODANA*	8,415
2nd April	DUMANA*	8,415
16th	MANILA*	8,415
14th May	A. Steamer*	8,415
28th	INDIANIA*	8,415
11th June	MORVADA*	8,415
25th	MANDALA*	8,415

* Cargo vessel only, will not convey passengers

P. & O. SAILINGS BOMBAY TO YAN

VIA COLOMBO, PENANG, SINGAPORE, HONGKONG AND SHANGHAI

Date.	Steamer.	Tons.	Connects at Colombo for Australia with
1st Jan.	SARDINIA	8,584	MOOLTAN.
15th	SOUTAN	8,584	MALWA.
17th	SICILIA	8,584	KHIBER
31st Mar.	SARDINIA	8,584	MOLDAVIA
14th Apr.	SOUTAN	8,584	CATHAY
12th May	SICILIA	8,584	COMORIN
9th June	SARDINIA	8,584	DEVANHA

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS TO AFRICA, KARACHI, PERSIAN GULF, TUTICORIN, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA AND RANGOON

Date about.	Steamer.	Destination.
2nd Jan.	VARELA	Bombay via Karachi
3rd	CHAKLA	Karachi via Kathiwar.
5th	VITA	Karachi via Kathiwar.
7th	KHANDALLA	East & S. Africa
7th	BANDRA	Bombay via Karachi & P. Gulf Ports

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*Sado Maru.	K. Hori-kawa.	6,998	8th Jan.	17th ..
Atsuta Maru.	S. Oya.	7th ..	2nd ..	
Tokai Maru.	K. Fuku-da.	6,976	11th ..	23rd ..
Muroto Maru.	G. Masu-da.	6,374	17th ..	29th ..
Panjoon Maru.	T. Mori.	6,650	21st ..	2nd Febr.

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A DILEMMA

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A RECORD OF SPLENDID PROGRESS.

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2. Policies actually issued during the year

3. Annual income exceeds

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5. Accumulated Fund

6. Claims paid about

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THINKING OF THE GANGES.

THE TEMPLE AT MADURA.

Stan Harding writes in "New Leader": Before going to Madura, in Southern India, I heard many different accounts of the place. To begin with, it seemed that St. Francis Xavier had been most unfavourably impressed when he paid the city a visit in the sixteenth century. On his return to the coast he had not opened his mouth for some days, and when at last he spoke it was to say that Madura was not yet ripe for the Kingdom of God; that was all he could ever be induced to say about it.

A Tamil lawyer, on the other hand, spoke of the extreme sanctity of the Sivite centre; a single visit, especially if it took place in the month of Chittirai, might be sufficient to merit all sins. He went on to describe the Brahmans, sitting in the cloisters round the sacred tank, thinking of the Ganges. (Yes, I would go to Madura!) He said that the city had, on the whole, changed little during the centuries, and that it was indisputably the Athens of the South.

Shortly afterwards, at the Judge's bungalow at Kurnegala, I met a distinguished English philosopher who told me that he found the place sinister and repellent. In the Siv-Minakshi Temple he seemed, like another famous English writer in the Gauri caves, almost to have been "afraid of the dark in broad daylight."

Then a Christian wife said that it was a horrid place. Why, there was nothing going on; of course, the Bazaar was quiet and "all very well" for those who like that kind of thing. She hated the place, it was all "so loud" what with the reds and the jasmyn garlands and the violent reds and yellows.

Lastly, a missionary who had spent a week there on her way to the cool heights of Ootacamund told me that the place was her idea of hell, but she added, well-meaningly, that I ought to go there.

I went. After living a while at Madura I came to the conclusion that each description was right in the main. Madura is certainly not yet ripe for the great Jesus's Kingdom of God. Also the Brahmans, as the Tamil lawyer described them, in the halls of the Temple, thinking, no doubt, of the Ganges. And I could understand the repulsion with which Madura inspired the English scholar; in the densely sculptured halls of Siva and his Sakti a horrible sense of the tangled cruelty of love and death sometimes did lay hold of one. The official's wife was quite right in regard to Madura being "loud"; I think of the colour of the sky and of the parrots that screamed the names of the gods in the Kilikatti Mantapam; and I shall never forget the multitude that howled with rapture round the god's car one full moon night. There is no doubt about it, Madura is very loud. Lastly, the missionary was right; it was her idea of hell and that I ought to go there was certainly right too.

This is the story which was told me of the origin of Madura: A long while ago a white elephant which had become black for its sins wandered darkly in the ancient Kadamba forest. One day it became white again on entering a holy pool in which was reflected the noonday sun, which is the Destroying Siva, and which dries up sins. It was discovered that the pool was Siva Ganga—Siva's Ganges. The forest has disappeared, but the Pool is still there and is now the Central Tank of the great Sivite Temple of Madura.

This Central Tank is the scene of intense religious activity—bathing, washing, prayer, meditation. Every sort of Hindu ascetic can be seen sitting under the colonnade, on the steps which lead down to the Tank. Some sit in solitary meditation and must be thinking of the Ganges. Some teach a disciple, who stands at a respectful distance. "Sivoham, I am Siva," repeats the pupil, "I am this, I am that" (for Siva is in all things). "I am this, I am that." And, since Siva is in all things, he is worshipped in this Temple under many aspects: as the Supreme Ascetic, sitting in deep contemplation; as Pasupati, lawless and libertine; as the Noonday Sun—the Destroyer; and above all as Nataraja, dancing the Dance of Life and Death.

It was the worship of Siva in this last aspect that interested me most, and before long I had an opportunity of seeing the dance of the Nataraja puja in the Temple. Every gesture of hand and foot and eye and eyebrow is laid down in the scriptures (smastras) and has been handed down throughout the ages. In spite of its archaic severity and of its accurate gesture, the dance races like a river.

The dancer stands with outstretched arms and flickering hands, then leaps forward and upward and drops lightly to the ground. One hand, held vertically over the head, points upwards "to Mount Himalaya." The other hand, held horizontally nearest the ground, rises to the beat of the drums. "This, of course, is Ganga rising," said an Indian friend who watched it with me. "Now you observe that the River flows over the earth." Just so.

For some weeks I went every day to the house of Bhumi, a little twelve-year-old Temple dancer. As a great favour I had been allowed to study the first four dances of the Nataraja puja, together with her from her teacher. One day on entering her house I saw a number of people sitting in attitudes of profound respect round a naked ash-smeared ascetic. Sri Nayanar, a Brahman acquaintance, was performing the eight-fold obeisance, prostrating himself full length on the ground before the ascetic. Having done so he rose and came to me and explained that the ash-smeared one was "a Nirvani."

I asked a question. "Yes," he added, "he is a Nirvani. He has wandered through the eighty-four lakhs of living beings from the worm to Siva and is aware. He has known the extreme emotions; he has bathed in all the sacred rivers; now he is placid. This is his last

birth. He has put off all coverings as his freed soul has put off its incarnations. Nirvana means 'without covering', and as a symbol of his soul's state he wears no clothes except out of doors, when he performs must wear the one small undergarment agreeable to the British Raj."

The little dancer flitted here and there preparing a meal for the holy ascetic. I knew that Sri Nayanar might sleep, but not eat, in Bhumi's house, unless the food were prepared by his own Brahman cook and brought to him, but he explained that no such rule applied to the Nirvani. "He has no caste. He is liberated and is Siva. No human evil can contaminate him."

Sri Nayanar introduced me to the Nirvani. I made what to me seemed a bold stride to a spiritual superior, but which was, I fear, very inadequate to the occasion. Nayanar explained that I was an artist, and the Nirvani replied that the study of the arts was a good path for those who were still far from Siva's feet and were not capable of severe contemplation.

The ascetic spoke again. Nayanar translated for us. "He says how rare is the fortune of those who are born in the Sivite land, and among all the myriads of human creatures how very few have this extreme fortune. He says that it is your good deeds in past lives that have brought you here to Madura, and now that you are here he advises you to take refuge in Siva."

The Nirvani talked for all the world like a Methodist parson! I forgot the sun-dried frame and the black smouldering eyes in the ash-smeared face and visualised a Methodist parson in shiny broadcloth. The Temple dancer in her jasmyn garlands and head-dress of pearls and rubies, the Brahmans in their snowy muslin scarves, sitting cross-legged, having removed the shoulder scarf, as is the custom in the presence of a deity—these things did not decrease the vision of a Methodist parson cooked by the Nirvani's sentences. He must have talked in this strain of evangelistic fervour for a quarter of an hour without saying a word that was out of tune with the broadcloth. Nayanar said, "The Nirvani says to tell you that we have here the footprints of all animals who blotted out by the footprints of the Nirvani's so-called duties are blotted out by the duty of worshipping Siva, Siva Ganga."

The conch sounded the hour of noon worship in the near-by Temple. The sacred elephants trumpeted, and the sacred parrots in the Kilikatti Mantapam screamed "Siva Linga! Siva Ganga!" The spell was broken. My vision of a Methodist parson dissolved. As I went out someone whispered to me, in reply to my question, that even a slight gift to so holy a man would have a diminishing effect on the number of his births. Crossing the street and entering the Temple I was swept by the fierce music of the noon worship towards the Central Shrine. The noonday sun, which is the Destroying Siva, blazed down into the Central Tank, which is Siva Ganga, and from the Tank blazed up again into the sky. In the shade of the colonnade the Brahmans prayed to the Ganges (as well they might). "Oh Water remain on the face of the Earth!"

(To be concluded.)

WEST KHANDESH DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

CONTEMPLATED REVISION OF ASSESSMENT.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

There are some very urgent local problems facing the people of West Khandesh, awaiting a united and emphatic expression of opinion. Government appears to have decided on their part not to reopen the present unequal partition of Khandesh into East and West. The people of West Khandesh, however, can never look upon this unequal division as a settled fact. So long Khandesh had been united for judicial purposes, with its headquarters at Dhulia in West Khandesh. But judicial inequality in the near future. The late Governor was impressed with this grievance of the people and if he had been in India a year more, the grievance would have been surely redressed. The people of West Khandesh cannot rest till the present division is made equal, as far as possible, in all respects.

Another urgent question is that of the contemplated revision of assessment in Sindkheda Taluka. The people of that Taluka have petitioned to Government and have protested in public meetings that it would be cruel for Government to increase the assessment at this juncture. During the last seven years there had been three years of scarcity, according to Government admissions, in that Taluka and the present year is not a better one. There is almost a complete failure of the cotton crop in the Taluka. The people have challenged Government to disprove this. They are holding an independent inquiry into the assessment of the crops in the Taluka. Subordinate revenue officers cannot be trusted; they are sure to exaggerate. The people, however, have some hope that the new Collector Mr. Knight may not altogether shut his eyes to these stern facts. Nevertheless, the people in the Taluka continue to be in suspense and the whole of West Khandesh must pronounce its decided opinion on the point.

There are one hundred and one other problems and they cannot be exhausted in one letter. A session of the District Conference was highly desirable. The first session of the West Khandesh District Conference was held in 1917 under the presidency of Mr. B. G. Hornimur and an invitation to the Conference was then given by Mr. Baba Sahab Joshi on behalf of Shirpur Taluka. The people of Shirpur have come forward as a very opportune time to redress their grievances. They have decided to hold the second session of the Conference on 31st January and 1st February 1925. The people of the whole district were very anxious for the session and most correspondent feels sure that it will be a complete success.

COMMERCIAL.

EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS.

London, Dec. 31.
Tele. Transfers 1/6 1/8 dull.
Bar Gold £48.2 steady.
Bar Silver Spot 81 13/16 quiet.

London, Dec. 31.

Rentes 3 per cent 49 3/4
Bar Silver (Spot) 31 13/16
Bar Silver 2 months hence 31 7/8
Closing Tone of Silver:—Small offerings. Quiet.

Interest day to day loans 4
Interest 7 days market loans 3 1/8
Discount, Bank of England Rate 4 per cent, since 5/7/23.

GOLD.

London, Dec. 31.
The only trifling amount arrived from South Africa, was absorbed by the trade demand. Indian enquiry for gold shipments from Africa has been less keen.

STOCKS, ETC.

London, Dec. 31.

Funding Loan 4 per cent 1900/90 £80 1/4
1/4.
Victory Bonds 4 per cent £92 5/8 — 1/4.
War Loan 5 per cent 1920/27 £101 9/16
plus 1/4.

Conversion Loan 78 9/16 — 1/16.
Indian Loan 5 1/2 per cent £101 1/4 unchanged.

Indian Loan 7 per cent £16 unchanged.

Consols 2 1/2 per cent 37 3/8 unchanged.
Rupce Paper 3 1/2 per cent 49 nominal.
Indian Stock 3 1/2 per cent (Sterling Loan) 66 3/4 unchanged.

Government Securities 3 per cent 47 unchanged.

SHARES.

London, Dec. 31.

Hongkong Bank 139
Chartered Bank 20 3/4
National Bank 47 3/4
P. & O. Bank 10 7/8
Eastern Bank 6 1/8

COTTON.

CLOSING PRICES—AMERICAN COTTON MARKET.

New York, Dec. 31.

Futures at New York:—
January 24.34 plus .18
March 24.67 .18
May 24.98 .18
July 25.11 .14

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

Cotton Delivery Mid. Uplands G.O.C.
January 13.27 —.9
March 13.34 —.7
May 13.40 —.7
July 13.39 —.7

COTTON—OPENING TONE AND PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

Future Delivery Prices:—
January 13.28 —.9
March 13.31 —.10
May 13.34 —.12
July 13.11 —.10
October 12.96 —.10
November 12.96 —.10

Egyptians:—
January 28.03
March 27.25
May 26.25

INDIAN COTTON SPOTS.

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

Scinde:—
Good 11.20
Fully Good 11.60
Fine 12.00

Bengal:—
Good 11.30
Fully Good 11.70
Fine 12.10

Omara:—
Good 11.60
Fully Good 12.10
Fine 12.60

Broach:—
Good 11.85
Fully Good 12.25
Fine 12.65

COTTON.

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

Total Day's Sales at Liverpool 4,000
Total Day's Sales on Spec. and for Exp. 100
Total Day's Sales of East Indian 130
Mid. American Spot:—
Universal Standard quiet 13.50
Egyptian F. G. F. Sakellariadis 29.65
New York 11 a.m. (as known in Liverpool at closing time):—
March 24.54
May 24.85
July 24.98

New York Noon Call:—
March 24.64
May 24.85
July 24.98

New Orleans 10 a.m.:—
January 24.37
May 24.75

CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

Cotton Delivery Mid. Uplands G.O.C.
January 13.27 —.8
February 13.30 —.8
March 13.34 —.7
April 13.35 —.7

AMERICAN MARKETS—COTTON.

New York, Dec. 31.

Day's Receipts at all U. S. Ports 53,000
Day's Exports to Great Britain 18,000
Day's Exports to Continent 18,000

Futures at New York:—

January 24.34 plus .18
March 24.67 .18
May 24.98 .18
July 25.11 .14
Spot Cotton at New York 24.85 .20
Spot Cotton at N. Orleans 24.50 .15

Futures at New Orleans:—
January 24.60 .17
March 24.93 .16
May 24.98 .16
Fair-Rio Coffee (No. 7 quality) 24.
Silver Foreign Mined 66 3/4

EGYPTIAN COTTON—CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 31.

January 23.65 plus .65
February 23.35 —.25
March 28.00 —.20
April 27.55 —.15
May 27.05 —.15
June 26.55 —.15
August 26.00 —.15
September 25.50 —.15
October 24.90 —.15
November 27.60 plus .40

METALS.

London, Dec. 31.

English best Selected Copper 79 3/4
Standard Copper G.M.B. 68 3/4
Copper Brasses 47
Yellow Metal 8 1/8
Hard Solder 37 5/8
Corrosion Sheets 17 3/4

WHEAT.

London, Dec. 31.

Barletta Russo—63 1/2 lbs. December paid 68.
Rosario Santa Fe—64 lbs. Jan/Feb. sellers 67.
Tone:—Quiet but easier.
Arabian Dec/Jani sellers 66.
Kandahar Jan/Feb. paid 63/3.
Soft Red Karachi Jan/Feb value 62/3.
Tone:—Quiet but easier.
Bombay Club No. 1 and 2, nominal Cargo Rosario Santa Fe 63 1/2 lbs. paid for Dec. 66/6.

Linseed La Plata Argentine closed quiet and easier for December/January nominal at £22 7/8 and paid for January/February at £22 11/16.

Cottonseed Bombay closed quiet sellers for Jan/Feb at 41.
Castorseed Bombay Jan/Feb sellers £23 1/4.

London, Dec. 31.
Linseed La Plata Argentine closed quiet and easier for December/January nominal at £22 7/8 and paid for January/February at £22 11/16.

Cottonseed Bombay closed quiet sellers for Jan/Feb at 41.
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J. A. Madan, the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency, Poona. The Conference began its session soon after the Co-operative Conference of the Jambusar and Amroli Talukas was over.

Representatives of all co-operative cotton sale societies of Gujarat attended it, and there were also present in addition Co-operative workers and visitors. The attendance was large, and the representatives of various Co-operative cotton sale societies evinced great interest and enthusiasm in the deliberations.

In the beginning, Mr. D. A. Shah, Assistant Registrar Co-operative Societies, N. D. Surast, made a preliminary speech explaining the necessity of convening the Conference. The necessity of using only one kind of cotton seed in every individual cotton sale society, was pointed out. It was gratifying to note that that practice was followed by most of the Societies for a long time past. These societies selected their own suitable seed and distributed it to their members.

After some discussion a resolution was passed unanimously that the Agricultural Department be requested to conduct experiments at its own cost for cottonseed selection. The necessity of cotton sale societies, wherever they exist, and that these societies should submit the results of these experiments to the Gujarat Divisional Board which will decide what particular kind of cotton seed will be useful, and profitable to various cotton sale societies. Another point at issue was about fixing the minimum limit for the area of operations of a co-operative cotton sale society. It was decided that it should be at least within a minimum radius of seven miles from its working place.

The next point that was very discussed was about the sale of cotton. It was decided that cotton should be sold in cash payments, and so far as circumstances permit, societies should aim at selling their cotton in fully pressed bales, and have their own trade mark. It was extremely desirable to make societies cotton known in big markets and mills in India and European countries. The Co-operative Department would always be ready to render as much help as necessary when asked for. The trade marks of societies' cotton could be registered.

It was particularly pressed by the representatives of all cotton sale societies the paramount necessity for keeping a man in a central place like Bombay, in the cotton season, who should sell cotton direct to the mills and big exporting companies, whichever paid the highest. Such a man might be paid his commission, as was ordinarily done in the market.

RESOLUTIONS.

Then the Conference passed two resolutions, one of which requested the Co-operative Department to appoint a special organizer for Gujarat to help, develop and expand the business of cotton sale societies. Another resolution was passed to the effect that the Conference accepted with great pleasure resolution No. 8, (2) passed at the last Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held in the beginning of December 1924, and requested the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency, to give effect to that resolution to cotton sale societies of Gujarat, in the present circumstances. That is, to request the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency, to give half the establishment expenses not exceeding Rs. 600 or 1 per cent of the total transactions of the Society whichever was less.

It was further pointed out that the bye-law No. 37, of Co-operative Cotton sale Societies about advancing to the members after November a loan not exceeding Rs. 10 per acre may not be enforced as far as possible, it should be made use of only in urgent cases. Further it was said that whenever the Society borrowed money from any Co-operative Bank by pledging its cotton, it should fix up a board on the cotton bales showing that the cotton is so pledged to the Bank.

The Conference then appointed a Committee, consisting of Mr. P. I. Patel, Mr. M. U. Munshi, Mr. S. D. Joshi, Mr. S. D. Joshi, Mr. S. D. Joshi, Mr. D. A. Shah, Mr. M. K. Joshi, Secretary to consider and decide a set of standard forms for all co-operative cotton sale societies in order to have uniformity in accounts.

The fourth resolution that the Conference passed stated that at present a representative committee of all co-operative cotton sale societies be formed, which should meet at least once a month during the months of January to June at different places and discuss those points which required careful consideration. One member would be elected from every having a cotton sale society may be elected to form this representative committee. It was also decided that the Agricultural Organizer Co-operative Societies N. D. Surast should act as a secretary of this committee and that a copy of the proceedings should be sent to all the cotton sale societies.

The last resolution that was passed in the Conference stated that the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute be requested to add Mr. P. I. Patel, Mr. M. U. Munshi and Mr. P. H. Banatwala to the committee appointed in the resolution No. 8 (1) of the last Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference, in order to have uniformity in accounts.

Mr. P. I. Patel then said that the Co-operative Ginning Society for the Oldpat Taluka could easily be organized, provided the Society got a written assurance from the Government that if a ginning factory was built in Surat it would be exempted from the operations of the Cotton Transport Act. The Registrar thereupon asked Mr. P. I. Patel to make a representation which he said would receive careful consideration.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY, COOLBA.

Bombay, December, 31.

Means of observations taken at 6 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m., 4 p.m

WHAT IS SPIRITUALISM?

A DOCTRINE AND A SCIENCE

BABU P. K. GHOSE'S EXPOSITION.

The following are extracts from the presidential address of Babu Piyush Kanti Ghose delivered at the second session of the All-India Spiritualistic Conference held at Belgaum during Xmas week:—

I shall now proceed to deal with spiritualism from both western and Hindu points of view. What is spiritualism or Spiritism? Is it a doctrine and a science? As a doctrine it finds place in almost all the ancient religious scriptures of the world, while the facts hitherto carefully tested and collated by eminent European and American savants, reputed scientists and other earnest and indefatigable workers of the present and past centuries cannot but secure for it a recognised and permanent place among the sciences. As a doctrine it not only inculcates the absolute immortality of the soul or spirit but its consequent survival of bodily death. Spirit has a real existence wholly apart from matter and this is in consonance with the teachings of all philosophy and religion Eastern and Western. The term spiritualism is also applied to a varied series of abnormal or super-normal phenomena purporting to be caused by spiritual beings acting upon specially sensitive persons called mediums. Its full treatment as a doctrine in the light of ancient scriptures of all lands would constitute a very interesting and instructive study, but this is not feasible on the present occasion.

SUPPORT OF SCIENCE.

Standing in the full flood of glory of the twentieth century—a century of reason and science, I do not expect my hearers to accept the facts about spiritualism unless it is tested in the fire of rational criticism. It is an age when no article is regarded genuine and worthy of consideration if it does not bear the hall-mark of Science. Naturally, therefore, we are eager to know the nature of the verdict of Science on spiritualism. In reply to a query as to how many of the scientists have experienced the phenomena and decided against them, "I am not aware of any of high scientific reputation," says Sir Conan Doyle, "who has thoroughly examined the phenomena and decided against them."

Spiritualism and its allied phenomena have undergone the fire of searching tests on the hands of eminent men of science in both the continents of Europe and America. The claims advanced on behalf of spiritualism have been in the main accepted as true and they are convinced that forces which can manifest intelligence do really exist in an invisible world out of which they can emerge under favourable conditions and hold communion with living men. In the rank of the confirmed spiritualists are now to be found men who are themselves leaders of Science and are regarded as authorities in their special subjects. They are very numerous and each of them is a host in himself. Thus we find amongst others, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Sir William Barrett, Prof. Charles Richet, Lombroso, Hyslop, Morosini, Russell Wallace, Zöllner, Wagner, Schrenck-Notzing, Geley, Flammarion, Botazzi, William James, Horre, Chasles, Mayo and many others. There are also many well-known lawyers, soldiers, divines, literary men and men of business, who all speak from personal experience in favour of spiritualism.

It is noteworthy that the eminent men spoken above are drawn from different countries and different branches of Science and have attained reputations which few can equal. Sir O. Lodge, the physicist, the physiologist and an exponent of the Royal Society thus expressed himself in an address before the Society for Psychical Research on Jan. 26, 1905:—"The boundary between the two states, the present and the future is still substantial, but it is wearing thin in places and like excavators engaged on being advanced from opposite ends, the two walls of matter and other forces are beginning to meet, now and again strokes of prodigies of our comrades on the other side."

The aforesaid speech, which was extensively reproduced in the press at the time, was a scientific and orthodox circles as much a new discovery had been made. Spiritualism, however, merely smiled at the latter if caused. Prof. James Hyslop of the Columbia University fully endorsed the opinion expressed by Sir Oliver. Then there are Sir W. Crookes, the chemist and the physicist, the discoverer of Thallium whose monumental researches on Spiritualism have earned for him an undying fame; Prof. A. Russell Wallace, Zoologist and co-discoverer of natural selection with Darwin; Camille Flammarion, the noted French astronomer and chemist; Lombroso, the noted alienist of recent times and the founder of the new Science of criminal anthropology—these people are all devoted workers in the cause of Spiritualism.

But we must remember there are confirmed sceptics like Prof. Morosini who do not deny the phenomena as it is reported by persons worthy of credence and because he is not a materialist and would admit that the phenomena are not impossible. If these phenomena were effected by tricks it would be a more wonderful extraordinary phenomena still. Still he would not believe in spirits because as he says, "I saw a phantom which presented

itself as my mother. See the absurdity. One so dear to me is attracted by a medium while I, her son, cannot do it! Is not such an idea repugnant?" Any comment on this is needless.

HYPNOTISM AND ITS ORIGIN.

It would not be in fitness of things to speak a few words now on Hypnotism and magnetic healing. Just as astrology arose out of astronomy, and chemistry out of alchemy, so hypnotism of the present day had its origin in mesmerism. But phenomena such as Mesmer and his followers claimed to have observed had been known and practised in India from time immemorial. The laying on of the hands in benediction, the healing of the sick by touch or by "char-phook," the inducing of hypnosis by means of fixation of gaze, and other old methods, which practices are continued even up to this day, bear testimony to our statement.

Modern writers have advanced many ingenious theories and have built numerous structures of religion, philosophy and metaphysics upon them; but whether in the form of mesmerism, hypnotism, personal magnetism, psychism, or any other "ism," we have the revival of the same ancient occultism, which was once the exclusive property of the Rishis and Yogis of this country. What we have gleaned yet is only an insignificant portion of the powers they possessed, the major part of which is still a sealed book to us, and we have yet to fathom the mystery which is its key-stone. Records, contemporaneous of the age, give abundant evidence of the wonderful exhibitions they gave, before which the accomplishments of modern scientists pale into insignificance like a feeble Promethean spark in the full blaze of the noon-day sun.

MESMERISM AND ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

In order to trace the origin of hypnotism, we need not go further than the period of Mesmer, as it was from this period that the attention of the scientific world was drawn to this subject. He believed in the doctrine of animal magnetism. This was in the sixteenth century. Mesmer's disciples were known after his name as mesmerists, and his doctrine of animal magnetism was called mesmerism. Mesmer was born in 1734 and died in 1815.

BRAID AND EARLY HYPNOTISM.

The second period in the history of animal magnetism began when James Braid came forward with a different theory of his own about the affair, and demonstrated that the so-called mesmeric phenomena could be produced by other processes than those used by Mesmer which chiefly consisted of passes and contacts. Mesmer also made use of different articles, such as wood, glass, a piece of cloth, etc., as a means of conveying his magnetism. Braid's method lay in causing the subject to look fixedly at a bright object without having resort to passes or manipulations of any kind.

Accordingly, he found a different name for the state he was thus able to induce which he called hypnosis and rechristened it as hypnotism.

With the advent of hypnotism, the interest in mesmerism almost died away; but it was not until Dr. A. Liebenow came on the scene that the third phase was entered upon, and Braid's work found a substantial recognition. He was not only the first to confirm Braid's discovery, but as a result of his continued experiments and researches he advanced much that was new in fact and theory. He held that suggestion played an important part in inducing hypnosis, and became the real founder of suggestive therapeutics. To Liebenow, we owe the development of modern hypnotism, it has now reached that stage from where it can command the respect and admiration that are justly due to it. The therapeutics of suggestion has attained an honourable position in the science of healing, and has, moreover, thrown a welcome light on many physical processes unknown to the early followers of hypnotism.

Amongst other eminent men who have been interested in the development of hypnotism, may be mentioned the names of: Moll Bramwell, Bernheim, Sir Oliver Lodge and a host of others whose names are legion.

MEDICAL HYPNOTISM.

The chief value of hypnotism to the world at large lies in its power to heal the sick and alleviate human suffering. Medical hypnotism may be divided into five classes, namely, magnetic healing, mental healing, self-healing, suggestive healing and absent healing. People who do not understand the mental make-up of the body do not comprehend how diseases can be cured by hypnotic treatment.

Science teaches us that the entire body is made up of a conglomeration of cells. These organs of the body which we call "our liver," "our heart," etc., are nothing more than groups of co-operating cells; and to the end that the body may work as a unit, these groups of cells are connected each to all the others, by lines of intercommunication called nerves. It has its central office in the brain, which receives telegrams from and telegraphs instructions to all parts of the body. Thus if any part is "pricked" with the point of a needle, the cells thus assailed instantly convey information of the assault through the nerves to the brain, and the brain, in turn, issues its edicts through the appropriate nerves to all the muscles and other cells surrounding the injured ones commanding them to mite their forces and repair the puncture. That the cells are endowed with a wonderful intelligence there can be no denying. The healing of a wound, the knitting of a fractured bone, the rearing of a womb, and hundreds of other instances are examples of this intelligence and cell-life.

It will not be out of place here to illustrate one or two methods of healing. I shall, however, take the one that is most in vogue, and that is Suggestive healing. This method of healing is based upon the treatment of mind by oral suggestions in which the healer impresses upon the patient the desired physical condition. The aptitude to receive suggestions varies in different persons; in the hypnotic state it is particularly developed, when the degree of susceptibility of a patient is considerably

increased and any suggestion offered to him during hypnosis has an exaggerated effect. The patient is told to go to sleep, and as soon as he passes into a quiet slumber he receives his doses of curative suggestions and when told to awake opens his eyes and is restored to his normal condition. During hypnosis the negation of all morbid symptoms is suggested; also the maintenance of the conditions upon which general health depends that is digestion, secretion, excretion, etc. The cells are thus restored to normal functioning, and normal functioning, after all, is what we call health.

In spite of all attacks, however, hypnotism has attained an honourable position in the science of healing. It has also found its way into university class rooms and has occupied its prominent place at numerous medical congresses. Now, after the lapse of such a long period we find our medical friends appearing in the roll of champions and claiming that the practice of hypnotism should be restricted by legislation to medical men only. Cannot, however, understand the grounds on which they base their claim, since healing by mental methods has no affinity with medicine.

I have myself witnessed many hypnotic demonstrations successfully given by men who knew nothing about the medical science. Furthermore, in my own city I know of an eminent hypnotist and psychic healer who brought about hundreds of remarkable cures of different kinds of diseases by mental methods of healing. Yet he was not a doctor of medicine. All this must with Katie King, a result which for a long time stood alone and isolated but can be approached now by intermittent and definite stages.

SPRIT PHOTOGRAPHY.

Spirit photography has been regarded by many, especially by the Late W. T. Stead and Ardenwood Colley as a final and irrefutable proof of survival. I am indebted to Sir Arthur for the following accounts of spirit photography as narrated in his said work. Professor Henslow, the eminent botanist, subjected a sealed packet of plates to the Crookes circle without exposure endeavouring to get photograph and marked the fifth plate for the purpose. On development the plate showed on it a copy of a passage from the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament in the British Museum. Reproductions, both of the original and the copy can be found in Henslow's book. His method of treatment appears really above criticism.

MEDIUMISTIC QUALITIES.

I shall now briefly allude here to the methods adopted and instruments employed at seances for establishing communication with departed spirits. I would not say more than that every psychic scientist who wish to produce materialised form or the manifestation of spiritual powers, requires a psychically developed man or woman of such constitution as to provide the necessary conditions. The various instruments used are stated in a well-known book on Spiritualism as follows:—

1. A materialising medium, i.e. one from whose body he can be called that condition, which when solidified provides a nucleus for spirit to construct a physical form in which to manifest.
2. A photographing medium, i.e. one from whose body may be drawn emanations to clothe the spirit form to be photographed.
3. A clairvoyant medium, i.e. one who has developed a sight which can look into planes of superphysical matter.
4. A clairaudient and telepathic medium, i.e. one who is able to receive sound and thought waves from those functioning in the super-physical world.
5. An impressionable or trance medium who can be controlled by discarnate intelligences.

A FEW INSTANCES.

It is through the last three classes of mediums, viz., Mr. Leonard, Mrs. Katherine Kennedy and Mr. L. V. Peters and also table movements, that his own home lately that Sir Oliver Lodge succeeded in obtaining messages from his youngest son, Raymond who was killed in Flanders during the late war. In his unique and almost epoch-making work, "Raymond, Life and Death," Sir Oliver states with remarkable exactness and precision the minutest detail being not omitted—as to how he received messages from his son in the spirit sphere and how the latter's personality and identity were established beyond the shadow of a doubt. No body—he a most confirmed sceptic—can rise out of the perusal of this book without being fully convinced of man's survival of bodily death.

MATERIALISING MEDIUM.

Modern Spiritualism made its debut with the table-rapping Fox sisters, whose most noteworthy successors were the Eddy brothers; and in the interim came the great materialising medium Florrie Cook, with whose control, Katie King, Crookes made his classic experiments. All these, I doubt, you are not aware of all of us. To-day I will tell you some of the results of the recent experiments of Professor Geley in France as reported in that beautiful book of Sir Conan Doyle entitled "The Vital Message." "I do not merely say," says Dr. Geley, "that there has been no fraud; I say, 'there has been no possibility of fraud.' In nearly every case the materialisations were done under my eyes, and I have observed their whole genesis and development."

The results may be briefly stated thus. A peculiar whitish matter exuded from the subject, a girl named Eva, coming partly through her skin, partly from her hands, partly from the orifices of her face, especially her mouth. This was photographed repeatedly at every stage of its production. This stuff, solid enough to enable one to touch and to photograph, has been called the ectoplasm. It is a new order of matter, and it is clearly derived from the

subject himself, absorbing into her system once more at the end of the experiment. It exudes in such quantities as to entirely cover her sometimes as with an apron. It is soft and glutinous to the touch, but varies in form and even in colour. Its production causes pain and groans from the subject, and any violence towards it would appear also to affect her. A sudden flash of light as in a flash photograph, may or may not cause a retraction of the ectoplasm, but always causes a spasm of the subject. When reabsorbed, it leaves no trace upon garments through which it has passed.

This is wonderful enough but for more fantastic is what has still to be told. The most marked property of this ectoplasm, very fully illustrated in photographs, is that it sets or cures into the shapes of human members of fingers, of hands, or faces, which are at first quite sketchy and rudimentary, but rapidly coalesce and develop until they are undistinguishable from those of living beings. Is not this very strange and most inexplicable thing that has ever yet been observed by human eyes? These faces or limbs are usually of the size of life, but they frequently are of miniature, and grow into full size.

What are we to make of such phenomena? There is no deluding ourselves by the idea that there may be some mistake or deception—while there is neither the one nor the other. Apart from the elaborate checks upon this particular results, they correspond closely with those got by Lemnere in Italy, by Schrenck-Notzenek in Germany and by other careful observers. So far Dr. Geley's experiments throw a strong explanatory light upon Crookes' experiment with Katie King, a result which for a long time stood alone and isolated but can be approached now by intermittent and definite stages.

SPRIT PHOTOGRAPHY.

Spirit photography has been regarded by many, especially by the Late W. T. Stead and Ardenwood Colley as a final and irrefutable proof of survival. I am indebted to Sir Arthur for the following accounts of spirit photography as narrated in his said work. Professor Henslow, the eminent botanist, subjected a sealed packet of plates to the Crookes circle without exposure endeavouring to get photograph and marked the fifth plate for the purpose. On development the plate showed on it a copy of a passage from the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament in the British Museum. Reproductions, both of the original and the copy can be found in Henslow's book. His method of treatment appears really above criticism.

Sir Arthur himself had such an experience. He went to the Crookes circle with three plates which he had marked. He brought the plates himself handled developed and fixed and asserts that the plates never went out of his own hand except when it was in the carrier and lo, the plates gave psychic extras. In each case he saw the extra in the negative when still wet in the dark room. A specimen of the result is reproduced in his book which is enough in itself to prove the whole case of survival to any reasonable mind. The pictures show three sisters—two are friends of Sir Arthur and the third, Sir Arthur himself, obscured by psychic cloud. In this cloud appears a message of welcome to him from the late Ardenwood Colley. A specimen of Ardenwood's own handwriting which is also reproduced proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the two are the same. An attempt at materialisation is shown in the picture obscured by the psychic clouds. "I trust that I make it clear," says Sir Arthur, "that no hand but mine ever touched this plate, nor did I ever lose sight of it for a second, save when it was in the carrier, which was conveyed straight back to the dark room, and there opened." What the critic has to say to this?

We ourselves had the pleasure of testing the truth to otherwise of pictures produced by spirit. At the direction of my revered father I wrote, several years ago, to Bangs sisters, the well-known mediums of New York, to get a picture of one of my brothers who had just then left us for his eternal home with the result that a beautiful portrait of my brother was obtained through the help of spirits. A detailed account of the incident as supplied by me, will be found in the well-known book of Dr. James Coats named "Photographing the Invisible." The picture was also reproduced in that publication. We are still in possession of that remarkable picture.

A SURVEY OF THE SPIRIT WORLD.

I shall now try to arrive at certain generalisations as regards spirits and spirit-world which we can gather from the researches made in connection with spiritualism. It is now established beyond doubt that (a) spirits are but the continuation of human nature into another stage of existence, that (b) in the spirit-world each one gravitates to where he belongs, that (c) we reap in the spirit-world as we sow in this world, that (d) the controlling affections which we have in this life affect our future conduct or (in the words of venerable J. A. F. Pitté) "the future life is a continuation of the present, and will be affected by our experiences and prevailing thoughts and affections here."

The most significant and precious facts established on investigation by competent investigators are as follows:—(1) Our so-called dead are really alive. (2) They live as their own natural selves in natural bodies. (3) They keep their natural love for and interest in families and friends. The following are the views which common-sense and reason suggest and which our probing scientists and other sphere explorers pronounce as the only true ones to adopt. Death, so-called, is just as natural as birth and is simply a transition to another plane and somewhat changed mode of existence. That plain is as really a tangible place with as real and tangible mode and means of living, as is this earth. To those who are on it that plain is as real and as substantial and fitted to their needs as is the earth substantial and fitted to the needs of those who dwell upon it.

Then there is nothing like a burning hell nor anything like an everlasting punishment and there can be no soul that is lost for ever. Does this mean that there are no effects of wrong-doing and that all are in the same condition and all alike happy after death? Far from it. I cannot re-

LAHORE LETTER.

"BANDEMATARAM" DEFAMATION CASE.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

LAHORE, Dec. 27.

The readers of this paper must have heard of the defamation case brought against the "Bandemataram", an Urdu daily of Lahore started by Lala Lajpatrai, by Rai-Sahib Janna Das, Jailer of the Multan Central Jail. Like the Ogilvie-Bande-mataram Case, the expenses of this case are being defrayed by the Government. After the evidence for the plaintiff was over, the defendants entered upon their defence and called in a large number of witnesses in support of their position that the writings amounted to fair comment.

The defence has been adding its evidence for the last several hearings, and the evidence has attracted wide public notice. I give below some important extracts of the evidence of one Abdul Gani Pathan, a prisoner in Multan Central Jail, from today's "Bandemataram".

The witness stated that he was sent to Multan Central Jail in the month of October, 1921. He had not only heard of the punishment known as *Giddar Kutt* (Jacket Parade), but had also the misfortune of undergoing it. When the Jail officials came to know that a prisoner was a man of substance, they administered *giddar kutt* (a brutal punishment) to him so that he should arrange for the payment of *tariff* (lit., date or periodical payment of bribe to jail officials). This punishment was inflicted by showing the victim on the ground and by beating him with shoes, flat-bloss and sticks. The witness stated that the punishment was inflicted on him under the order of the Darogah, Janna Das, (plaintiff in the case). Somebody told him that the witness was a man of substance, and, therefore, he was punished in order to extort *tariff* or periodical payment from him.

The witness further stated that he was also made to undergo "cor-parade" (name of another punishment). The prisoners, said witness, were addressed in filthy language, and abuses were showered on them. There were pits containing dirty water in the Jail where prisoners were given their dips. One Jivana Singh was punished because he happened to make a complaint to Sardar Sundar Singh Mehtia (a member of the Governor's Council) to the effect that the prisoners were not given full diet and remained hungry. No sooner had the Sardar Sahib left than the Jailer ordered the convict warders to give dips to Jivana Singh in the dirty water. The witness's ticket did not contain any mention of such punishments because these were not permissible under the rules.

Cross-examined, the witness said that under the rules the food supplied to the prisoners ought to weigh 7½ chhataks, but the one actually supplied weighed only 4 chhataks. The prisoners did not complain to Major Wadia because if they happened to do so they were punished, and thus the rest were deterred from complaining again. The witness said, several officers came to the Jail, but none but the Inspector-General examined the leaves meant for prisoners. The officers used to come and go, but they did not inquire anything from the prisoners. The officers used to visit the room containing carpets, and none else.

Further cross-examined, the witness said *giddar kutt* was inflicted on him in front of the jail workshop. There was a whistle, and several convict warders came to the spot. No other prisoner could see the performance. The witness was beaten twice on the same day. Fifteen minutes after the witness had regained his senses, he was beaten again. The "cor-parade" was done the next day. The reason of this punishment was that the witness could not grind corn on account of the injuries he had sustained at the previous day's beating. He showed his injuries to Dr. Kohla Singh, but the latter did not care because the Jailer and the doctor took bribe together.

ANTI-RABIC TREATMENT.

The Punjab Government has announced that Anti-Rabic Treatment is now available at the Punjab Bacteriological Laboratory, Lahore, throughout the year. The need for such a treatment in a central place in the Province, like Lahore, was a pressing one, because during the summer season there are numerous cases of mad dog bite throughout the Province and hitherto patients had to go to Kasauli on the Kalka Simla Railway for treatment. The journey was a long and tedious one and people were put to great hardships.

The treatment now provided at Lahore is similar to that given at the Pasture Institutes at Kasauli, Coonoor and Shillong. The course of treatment will ordinarily last for fourteen days. Patients are not laid up but can go about as usual, having regard to the rules of life recommended, provided that the condition of the wounds inflicted by the rabid animal permits. The treatment is given free and concession is also granted to Government servants and indigent persons unconnected with Government service proceeding to Lahore for treatment, on the lines (*mutati mutandis*) of the concession granted under the rules in force from time to time for patients proceeding for treatment to the Pasture Institute at Kasauli. Patients coming from other Provinces can also get the benefit of the arrangements made here.

Just the completion of quoting here that beautiful analogy which Lala A. Churnit employs to illustrate. "Remember that the man who slips off his physical body is no wise changed by the act in his character, his thoughts, his desires any more than here the real 'you' is changed by slipping off your outside garment." In every sphere the law that every one shall go to his own place holds good and he whose life is coarse, low, vile does not gravitate towards the refined, the spiritual, the pure, nor is he allowed to enter their circle.

NATIONAL BABY WEEK IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

AN APPEAL.

The Chairman and the Honorary Provincial Secretaries of the National Baby Week, Bombay Presidency have issued the following appeal:—

Dear Sir (Madam)—You are probably aware that last year the National Baby Week was celebrated all over India on the initiative of Her Excellency the Countess of Reading; and in response to her invitation, nearly a thousand cities and small and big towns took part in this celebration. The response from the public was so prompt, enthusiastic, and tremendous that the promoters of this movement all over the country were advised to recommend to the Council of the National Baby Week in India at Delhi that this celebration be made an annual function.

Last year in our own Presidency, Bombay, Poona, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Cochin, Surat, and several leading Indian States, the Deccan, Gujarat, and Kathiawar celebrated Baby Week, and at some places Health Propaganda was also linked with it, was, therefore, thought more advantageous and desirable this year to have a provincial organization to guide and help this movement as far as possible and assist the people in celebrating Baby Week in their own centres as practicable all over the Presidency during the year 1925.

An influential and representative committee for the whole province has been formed in Bombay on the initiative of Her Excellency the Countess of Reading under the leadership of Lady Wilson who has been unanimously elected its President. Over 50 prominent ladies and gentlemen belonging to all shades of opinion and representing the various interests and divisions in this Presidency including a large number of members of the Bombay Legislative Council being in full sympathy with the objects of this movement have kindly responded to the invitation of Lady Wilson to join the Provincial Committee as members to promote this great national social cause and to create an intelligent public opinion on questions relating to Maternity, Infancy, Childhood, and Public Health. A doctors sub-committee has been formed to advise in regard to the creation, preparation, or revision of the material for this celebration. The material which is the intention of the Provincial Committee to supply to the district and other similar centres will mostly consist of leaflets, pamphlets, diagrams, charts, illustrated posters, lantern slides (coloured and plain), models and stereoscopic views, model lectures, etc., etc., all dealing with the problem of maternal and infantile care and other important questions relating to public health.

It is estimated that a sum of nearly Rs. 40,000 will be required for the purchase of the existing material, for the production of new material, for giving subsidies to poor districts and town centres that are unable to collect the necessary funds for the Baby Week celebration, for the supply of lectures, organisers and music lanterns and cinema operators, as also for expenditure on the organization of the office at the headquarters, for the staff, other administrative measures, etc., etc. And it is believed that a very large number of places will avail themselves of the facilities that are being provided by this Provincial Organization with the help of Government and the public.

It has been the clear experience of the world that nearly 30 per cent. of its suffering and disease is due to preventable causes and that the diffusion of knowledge of the laws of health and Baby Care is the best and the most economical way to the solution of the result of welfare movement for the betterment of which National Baby Week stands, varied in its object since its inception during the last 25 years, have proved beyond the shadow of doubt that broadly speaking poverty has very little to do with disease and death, but that on the other hand it is the diseases, and deaths (and nearly 75 per cent. of deaths are preventable) that are seriously hampering the broad-winning activities of the poor and are making them poorer still. Looked at from this point of view, the National Baby Week Movement (incorporating National Health) becomes at once a sustaining and all-pervading activity which no well-wisher of India can afford to ignore. It will thus be seen that the aims and objects of various institutions and Public Bodies—be they social, political, commercial, educational, charitable, humanitarian or even religious—are only strengthened by their active participation in this movement and that is why we earnestly seek their whole-hearted moral and material co-operation with this Committee in the important task they have undertaken to do. We note in the best interests of our poor and ignorant people. The Provincial Committee, therefore, appeals to all friends like you in the belief and trust that they will extend their generous support to this movement by donating liberally to the Committee's funds and by helping it in all possible ways. Your active sympathy will go a great way in convincing the public regarding the utility and the necessity of such a paganda and it is the public that are ultimately the mainstay of its success. Moreover, we are glad to state that the Government of Bombay have shown their appreciation of these efforts by sanctioning a good amount this year.

On behalf of this committee, therefore, we have great pleasure in appealing to all ladies and gentlemen who are sympathetically interested in this cause with a request to respond to our appeal. In this connection we are glad to state that Her Excellency Lady Wilson who was first approached by us has been graciously pleased to respond to it very readily by sending a handsome donation of Rs. 1,000. It is further suggested that the public at large will generously respond to this appeal for help issued by the Provincial Committee of the National Baby Week in the patriotic efforts of the latter to ensure the well-being of the Indian people. The names of the donors should be sent to the Hon. Provincial Secretaries, National Baby Week, Bombay Presidency, C/o. Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay. These will be duly acknowledged in papers and proper receipts will be sent to the subscribers.

ICY-COLD WITHOUT "ICE" STEAMING-HOT WITHOUT "FIRE" "ICY-HOT" BOTTLE

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SPINNING FRANCHISE.

MR. PATEL'S OPPOSITION.

The following is the text of Mr. V. J. Patel's speech in opposing the spinning franchise resolution in the subjects Committee of the Congress:

"I may say at once I am not opposed to khaddar; I believe in khaddar. I believe India should take to hand spinning and hand weaving. While I believe in these I am entirely opposed to the introduction of the change in the constitution. My reasons are these. I believe that we have no right to exclude a large number of people who do not believe in khaddar from entering this national assembly. If you look to the history of the Congress constitution and the administration of the Congress all these years, you will find that such a vital change has never been introduced in the Congress constitution. You may have passed resolutions of Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience by a majority, but you have never attempted to trifle with the constitution in the manner it has been proposed to be done. By introducing such a change in the constitution you at once shut out a large number of people from entering the Congress, a course for which, I submit, you have no right. After all this is a national assembly and when once you say that a certain section of people who do not believe in certain methods cannot join you, the national character of this assembly is gone."

AN ARTIFICIAL BARRIER.

"I would like you to be very very careful before you give your assent to this change in the constitution. Your object should be to bring together as many people as possible within the Congress fold. We had the Unity Conference the other day at Bombay. The object was to bring together all schools of political thought on the same platform. The introduction of this franchise would practically shut out those people whom you want to come in to the Congress camp. Although in Calcutta and in Nagpur we passed the resolution of Non-Co-operation, that could not possibly prevent any person who would like to enter the Congress, if only he believed in attainment of Swaraj by legitimate and peaceful means the resolution of Non-Co-operation was only a recommendatory one and not binding upon all members of the Congress. But now when you say, 'You shall not enter the Congress unless you contribute 24,000 yards of yarn.' A voice: 'overly open yarn; another voice: (well twisted) I do not know if there are any other adjustments (laughter). That means you practically shut out those people who do not believe that India's salvation lies in khaddar. You may disagree with them; you may preach to them and you may persuade them; but this is not the way to bring them round to your way. If you want India to take to khaddar, you cannot ask them by asking them to go out of the Congress. You can do more respectfully by allowing them to come into the Congress by coming into contact with them, by telling them and by your personal example. Supposing you keep an open door they will see many people dressed in khaddar. You will argue with them. They will listen to that and they will realise that handspun and handwoven khaddar is the real thing to be taken to. But if you once shut them out, you will have no occasion to bring them round to your own point of view. You have no business to say that in this national assembly people who believe in certain methods only shall come and not others. Let them come and argue with us let them convert us or let us convert them to our own view. But if you erect this artificial barrier the national character of this assembly is gone."

UNDOING UNITY CONFERENCE WORK.

"I want to urge upon you again the necessity of opposing this proposed change in constitution because in the history of the Congress an attempt of this character has never been made and for good reasons you should always distinguish between the object and methods. This is method in your opinion. There are thousands of people who do not believe in this matter. Now you are mixing up the method with the object of the Congress which is attainment of Swaraj by legitimate and peaceful means. Method is the chariot. Our chairman has stated everything for chariot, as the Swarajist friends have stated everything for the chariot."

(A voice: question) "It is totality of all activities that will bring us Swaraj." I say by pressure that you will bring to bear upon the bureaucracy you will bring Swaraj. We have tried chariot for the last four years and you know what progress it has made. Even with forty thousands of our countrymen in jails what progress we have made is well-known. Now we are again asked to stake everything on the chariot. I do object to having it a part of the constitution of the Congress. I do not object to the chariot as a part of resolutions of the Congress. I hope you will not undo the work which the Bombay Unity Conference did. It was the first step in unity. If you have at all the idea of bringing together on the same platform all schools of political thought the only way to do that is not what you have now been asked to do."

"You know very well that Moderates do not believe in this. I know there are several Liberals who believe in this khaddar but I can assure you there is not one single Liberal who believes in spinning as a franchise. I have great respect for Mr. Bhandari, who, I am told, is spinning. But I do not regard him as a Liberal. It is with a sense of great responsibility that I have been obliged to oppose this motion. I know that my party is committed to a certain line of action. (Mahatma Gandhi: No.)"

"My revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi, says no. But that is so really. We have been asked not to speak against it. But it is there I feel really in the interests of the nation that spinning should not be a condition of the franchise. I hope that members will realise the necessity of throwing out the resolution altogether."

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY BALLOT.

SWARAJ PARTY'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions will be balloted for by members of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the party, at the ballot for resolutions to be moved during the ensuing session of the Legislative Assembly:

ENCOURAGEMENT TO INDIAN INSURANCE COMPANIES.

1. This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council that, whenever there are occasions for insurance or renewal of insurance of property or stores or machinery belonging to or held in trust by the Government of India, against Fire, Marine or any other kind of risks, such insurance be always placed with Insurance Companies incorporated in India.

2. With a view to make the protection to the iron and steel industry in India real and effective, this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that the Government of India and all departments under its control shall purchase iron and steel of Indian origin.

HAND-SPINNING AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

3. This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he be pleased to instruct the local administrations under his direct control to take steps forthwith to organise hand-spinning and hand-weaving on a large scale with a view to relieve unemployment and poverty with in those areas.

NO LOANS WITHOUT ASSEMBLY'S SANCTION.

4. This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government the considered opinion of this Assembly that in future no loans chargeable on the revenues of India should be raised without previously consulting the Assembly.

5. This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he be pleased to instruct the local administrations under his direct control to take steps forthwith to grant to the local bodies within their jurisdiction the right to determine the number and location of liquor shops within their respective areas.

COMMITTEES AND WASTE OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

6. That having regard to the fact that the Executive in India is not responsible to the Legislature, and the further fact that Committees and Commissions appointed in the past have in most cases resulted in waste of public funds, this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that no Committees for investigation of public affairs should be appointed except with the previous approval and concurrence of this Assembly.

7. This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to advise His Excellency the Governor-General to propose this Assembly as the Assembly to be dissolved on the expiration of four years from the date of the commencement of the reformed Assembly and to summon a fresh session without delay in order to enable the Assembly to elect its own President.

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ELECTIONS.

8. That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to amend the Rules and Regulations for the election of members of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils so as to remove all qualifications to vote or stand for election against persons convicted of political and other offences not involving moral turpitude and sentenced to any term of imprisonment.

PURCHASE OF FOREIGN STEEL.

QUESTIONS IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Mr. Goenka, Chief Whip of the Swaraj Party, will ask the following questions at the ensuing session of the Legislative Assembly:

Will the Government state:—
(a) The price of iron and steel ordered by it from England and the continent since the beginning of 1924 up to date with the quantities ordered.

(b) Which of the steel and iron goods ordered from abroad were not or could not be produced in India.

(c) How many concessions they have given up to date for prospecting the mineral resources of India in manganese and iron with names of persons, Companies or Syndicates to whom the concessions have been given.

(d) How many of these concessions have so far been utilized by actual working.

(e) What, if any, is the time-limit within which the concessionaire must begin to work.

(f) How many of these concessions have remained unused and what action has been taken against the defaulters.

SIR A. MUDDIMAN ENTERTAINED.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
CALCUTTA, Jan. 1.

The Mahomedan Literary Society last night entertained Sir Alexander Muddiman to dinner at the Grand Hotel when about 200 members were present to meet him. Sir Alexander's health was reported in appreciative terms by Mr. Fazlul Haq, ex-Minister, and seconded by Mr. Abdul Kaseem, who referred to the Home Member's early association with Bengal.

Sir Alexander replying thanked the Society for its hospitality.

Sir Campbell Rhodes, the Maharaja of Krishnagar and Sir Abdul Rahim were among the guests.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND KOHAT HINDUS.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S CRITICISM.

The following is the translation of a verbatim article of Lala Lajpat Raiji which appeared in the "Bande Mataram":

I have read and pondered over what Mahatmaji has written about Kohat Hindus; I regret I cannot agree with one portion of it. It seems that in Mahatmaji's opinion Kohat Hindus should have been defending their lives and temples, and that they were guilty of cowardice in not doing so. In my opinion, all facts show that at least the Kohat Hindus did not exhibit cowardice and it was merely the circumstances that ultimately compelled them to desert their homes and temples.

Man can fight against men and die in his own defence, but no person would like to be burnt to death; nor is there any merit in so dying. The Hindus did not leave their houses and temples till they were compelled to do so by official persuasions and advancing flames of fire. The responsibility for their misery does not lie on their cowardice, but on the fraudulent and dishonest indifference of the Frontier Police and some other Government servants. They not only refused to fight after quitting their houses; after being disarmed it was impossible to fight against an armed opposition. As a result of this, Indian Rajputs and Khatriyas have earned a name unequalled in the world. The entire world considers all deceit and fraud fair in war; the Muhammadans work on the principle of "Allahabad Khaddah." The people of Europe call it "strategy," but Hindu Rajputs have refused to utilize it in the whole of their history. The present generation attribute this to their ignorance and folly, and say that the Rajputs had combined some political wisdom with their unrelenting bravery, and if they had made use of "strategy," the political map of India would have presented a different appearance today. It should be remembered that retreat at the proper time is a vital part of military wisdom or strategy. But Mahatmaji is a Mahatma. He has no concern with military or political wisdom. But it is essential that Hindus should demonstrate bravery from cowardice. It was great cowardice to run away, leaving behind women and children like what the Sahasraur Hindus did. The Hindus of Kohat, it is a great injustice to lay this blame upon them, and I raise my protest against this injustice.

I regret I am not satisfied even with the second advice given by Mahatmaji to the Hindus of Kohat. My conscience tells me that neither Mahatmaji nor other all-India leaders have done their duty by the Hindus of Kohat. It is my opinion that when Mahatmaji heard of the Kohat incident and when a trustworthy man of Hindu Ajmal Khan's position had narrated to him the painful tale of the Hindus of Kohat, it was his duty that very time to depart for Rawalpindi; and if he desired to keep a fast he should have done so at Rawalpindi in the midst of Kohat Hindus. In that case Kohat Hindu refugees would have been to blame if they had not followed his advice. But he did not do so, and for full seven weeks even after breaking his fast he did not attend to them. To this day he has not written a word to help them. Immediately after the happenings in Malabar, he issued an appeal for the sufferers there; he did the same in the case of damage done by floods, but he has not so far made such an appeal for the Hindus of Kohat. It is easy to advise that they should remain in Rawalpindi till the time that the Muhammadans come themselves and take them, and that if the Muhammadans do not do so by the 23rd January, Mahatmaji would himself come to the Hindus. But Mahatmaji did not consider how these homeless people would fare till the 23rd January, and how they would pass six more weeks in this condition of distress.

What a pity that a large-hearted man like Mahatma Gandhi has failed to realise the mental condition of the sufferers and to draw a proper picture thereof! I would again say that Mahatmaji did not give that importance to the Kohat incident which it deserved; and whatever he has so far said in respect to it, holds out little hope for the future.

I quite agree with Mahatmaji that not merely Kohat Hindus, but all Frontier Hindus should not have implicit faith in the power of Government and its promises of protection. The Kohat happening and the Government of India's resolution on it have clearly proved that the Government of India is neither anxious nor desirous of protecting the Hindus. Maulana Mahomed Ali writes in the first number of his paper "Comrade," that the Frontier Muhammadans have always complained that the Hindus of that tract are the beloved wife of the Government; that they are given arms and ammunitions without let or hindrance, etc. But it appears that this complaint is without foundation; and if a proof of its being so was required, this has been supplied by the Kohat happening and the Government of India's resolution. Else, should we take it that the Government has given its "beloved wife" and have now left her to the mercy of her rival? If that is so, what is the cause? Is it that the Kohat Hindus are being punished for participating in the Khilafat movement? Are the Frontier Hindus being held responsible for the help rendered towards Khilafat by Amichand Banwari and other Hindu leaders?

When the Kohat incident happened, Mahatmaji's heart was so struck that he tried out in agony. "I had persuaded Hindus to render help to have the Muslim temple of Khilafat, and to-day my own temples are being destroyed by the Muhammadans." But it so appears that the last has removed all these doubts, and he now finds his mind so clear that he advises the Hindus to have faith in Kohat Muhammadans. But what other help is there save this?

UNEMPLOYMENT IN BENGAL. COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

The committee appointed in November 1922 to investigate unemployment in Bengal, the Indian and Anglo-Indian middle-class committees, its report was recommended by the committee to the Government. The recommendations of the committee are now under consideration of the Government, and a supplement to the "Calcutta Gazette."

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

The report which is of considerable length contains the most important of which are:—
(a) As a means of enabling industrialists to estimate the general future trend of business and to modify their activities accordingly, so as to prevent business oscillations, coming largely or even disastrously from the Government, the committee recommends:—
(1) The enlargement of the statistical work done by Government; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(b) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(c) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(d) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(e) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(f) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(g) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(h) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(i) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(j) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(k) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(l) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(m) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(n) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(o) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(p) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
(1) The establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (2) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (3) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (4) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics; (5) the establishment of a central bureau of statistics.

(q) As a means of securing rapid placement of the unemployed, the committee recommends:—
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ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The following Constitution for the All-India Trade Union Congress has been adopted by its Executive Council which met in Bombay on the 17th August 1924:

1. NAME.—The name of the organisation shall be the All-India Trade Union Congress.

2. Object.—The object of the Congress shall be to coordinate the activities of all the labour organisations in all the provinces and in all the provinces in India, and generally further the interests of Indian labour in matters economic, social and political. It may also co-operate and federate with organisations of labour having similar objects, in any part of the world.

3. Constitution.—The All-India Trade Union Congress shall consist of the delegates of the affiliated labour unions in India, the President, the Treasurer, the General Secretary and the members of the Executive Council.

4. Affiliation.—Every organisation of labour, under whatever name it may be known shall be entitled to be affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress on the following conditions:—
(a) That the Union seeking affiliation shall agree to pay to the All-India Trade Union Congress an annual contribution of the following basis:—

Rs. 10 for unions having a number of members up to 1,000; Rs. 20 for unions having a number of members between 1,000 and 3,000; Rs. 30 for unions having a number of members between 3,000 and 5,000; Rs. 50 for unions having a number of members above 5,000.

(b) That the Union seeking affiliation shall agree to pay to the All-India Trade Union Congress the amount of a special levy of a contribution approved of by a majority of the members of the Executive Council.

(c) That the Union seeking affiliation shall agree not to act in any manner prejudicial to the collective interests of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

5. Responsibility for Administration.—The affairs of the All-India Trade Union Congress, when not in session, shall be regulated and administered by the Executive Council which shall not act in any manner inconsistent with the resolutions of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

6. Annual Session.—The All-India Trade Union Congress shall meet once a year at such place and time as may be fixed by the Executive Council and, when not so fixed, at any place fixed by the Executive Council and such time as may be fixed by the Executive Council in consultation with and subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

7. Special Session.—The Executive Council shall have power to call a special session of the Congress besides the ordinary annual session whenever it deems necessary.

8. Delegates.—Each affiliated Union shall be entitled to send a delegate to the Congress on the following basis:—
5 delegates for unions with a membership up to 1,000; 10 delegates for unions with a membership between 1,000 and 3,000; 15 delegates for unions with a membership between 3,000 and 5,000; 20 delegates for unions with a membership above 5,000.

9. The affiliated Unions shall send the names and addresses of the delegates to the Secretary of the Reception Committee at least a fortnight before the date of the meeting of the Congress.

10. Business of the Annual Session.—The annual session of the Congress shall be presided over by the President of the Executive Council, the Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary and ten additional members of the Executive Council shall receive, discuss and adopt the annual report and audited statement of accounts and may pass such resolutions as they may think fit.

11. President and Ex-officio Delegates.—The Chairman of the Executive Council of the year shall be the President of the Congress. The General Secretary, Treasurer and all ex-officio delegates of the Congress shall be ex-officio delegates of the Congress.

12. Resolutions and Agenda.—Any affiliated Union has the right to send to the Reception Committee a list of resolutions and agenda to be placed on the agenda. The Reception Committee shall place these resolutions before the Executive Council which may place all or any of these resolutions on the agenda. The Executive Council may place on the agenda any resolutions not sent by the unions. The Executive Council shall place on the agenda.

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14. A delegate shall be allowed to speak once only on any proposition except the mover who shall have the right of reply extending to five minutes only.

15. Closure.—Should the President of the Congress consider that there is no practical difference of opinion among the delegates, he shall have power to stop further discussion and submit the proposition to the vote of the Congress. The President shall have power to accept or refuse a motion for closure if he thinks the matter has been sufficiently discussed or not.

16. Voting.—On a motion being put to the Congress, the President shall call for a show of hands in favour of and against the motion and declare the result. But if any delegate challenges a voting, the voting shall be by ballot. The Executive Council may place on the agenda any resolutions not sent by the unions. The Executive Council shall place on the agenda.

17. Reception Committee.—(a) The Provincial Secretary for the province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee at the place where the session of the Congress is to be held for the purpose of making arrangements for the holding of the Congress. The Reception Committee shall collect a special fund to meet the expenses required for its work.

(b) Out of the surplus money in the hands of the Reception Committee, 50 per cent shall be handed over to the Executive Council for its general purposes and the other 50 per cent to the provincial labour organisation.

18. Executive Council.—The Executive Council of the Congress shall consist of the Chairman, the Treasurer and the General Secretary as ex-officio members, the ten additional members elected at the annual session of the Congress and the representatives elected by the affiliated unions on the following basis:—
1 Representative for unions with a membership up to 1,000; 2 Representatives for unions with a membership between 1,000 and 3,000; 3 Representatives for unions with a membership between 3,000 and 5,000; 4 Representatives for unions with a membership above 5,000.

19. The Executive Council shall have the power to act on behalf of the Congress as far as its acts are not inconsistent with the resolutions of the Congress.

20. The Executive Council shall meet ordinarily once every six months at such place and time as the Chairman, in consultation with the General Secretary, may decide.

21. When no meeting of the Executive Council can be held, the General Secretary, with the permission of the Chairman, may circulate to the members of the Executive Council for opinion such matters as require immediate action and the opinion of the majority of the members shall have the same force as if they were passed at a meeting of the Executive Council.

22. A general formula notice is necessary for all meetings of the Executive Council.

23. Special Meetings.—Special meetings of the Executive Council may be called by the Chairman or the General Secretary.

24. A meeting of the Executive Council called for want of a quorum may be held after a fortnight's notice whose decision shall be valid even though there be no quorum.

25. Vacancies.—Should the Chairman, the Treasurer or the General Secretary resign, or should a vacancy occur otherwise, before the end of the period, the Executive Council shall fill the vacancies till the next meeting of the Congress.

26. Provincial Committees.—In every province there shall be a Provincial Committee consisting of the representatives of the unions or branches having their headquarters in the province elected on the same basis as the representatives of the unions on the Executive Council. The Provincial Committee shall elect a Provincial Secretary.

27. Every Provincial Committee shall frame its own rules but they must be approved by the Executive Council.

28. The Provincial Committees shall take all necessary steps to further the cause of labour in their respective provinces under the guidance of the Executive Council.

29. Unauthorised Strikes.—No affiliated union shall be entitled for any support from the All-India Trade Union Congress during any strike for which the approval of the Executive Council was not previously obtained.

A. I. ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MADRAS SESSION.

(Press & Correspondence.)
The All-India Oriental Conference held its third session in the Senate House, Madras, from the 2nd to the 24th ultimo under the presidency of Dr. Mahanadiahayya Dr. Ganapathi Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. The organisers of the session left nothing to be desired in the arrangements. Apart from the solid contribution made to Oriental research by the reading of papers on important subjects, and by formulating a scheme for future work in the sphere, the session was most delightful and wholly enjoyable.

The session was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Madras. The President of the Reception Committee, Mr. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, in his address of welcome to the President-elect and the delegates touched upon the important aspects of Oriental research work and said how the work required the strongest support and the sincerest encouragement of the whole of India.

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The presidential address of Dr. Jha was masterly. Indeed, the address proved a worthy successor of those of Sir Ramakrishna Bandyopadhyay and Professor Symonds. After dwelling on the lack of organisation, of public sympathy, and of financial support to the required extent, in the matter of Oriental research, Dr. Jha stressed on the need of a scheme for Oriental research in a future.

Emphasising on the indispensability of the Shastri and the Anandis in a scheme of Oriental research, "however much we may be in the field of modern research," he said, "the Shastri and the Anandis must continue to be indispensable. Without these there is no learning in our midst, we would be nowhere in the field of even purely modern studies. If moderns will look up to this country with deep respect, it is by reason of its Shastris and Anandis. Let us cherish them in all purity." He condemned the system of examinations for the Shastri and the Anandis by which they tended to consider the passing of certain examinations as the goal and end-all of life. "I would beseech you, gentlemen," he said, "at least those of you who are in power in this department, not to try to modernise the Pandit or the Maulvi if you modernise him, he will disappear. It does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning."

The Conference was represented by delegates from almost all the provinces. Of the several interesting papers which were read by eminent scholars and research-workers, may be mentioned the following:—

"Memorial Stones in the Bombay Presidency," by Prof. G. V. Acharya of Bombay. "Three contemporary letters of the Vijayanagar King Venkata II of the Travancore dynasty," by Rev. S. B. B. of Bombay. "Influence of South

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

Jan 1 (Thurs.) Sunrise 7h. 12m. Sunset 6h. 12m.
Jan 2 (Fri.) Sunrise 7h. 12m. Sunset 6h. 13m.
Jan 3 (Sat.) Sunrise 7h. 13m. Sunset 6h. 14m.
Jan 4 (Sun) Sunrise 7h. 13m. Sunset 6h. 14m.
Jan 5 (Mon) Sunrise 7h. 13m. Sunset 6h. 15m.
Jan 6 (Tue) Sunrise 7h. 13m. Sunset 6h. 15m.
Jan 7 (Wed) Sunrise 7h. 14m. Sunset 6h. 16m.

SRI GURU GOBIND SINGH'S BIRTHDAY.
In connection with the birthday of Sri Guru Gobind Singh, there was a public procession of Sikhs on Monday yesterday evening. The birthday will be celebrated at the Sri Guru Singh Sabha, Princess Street, from early morning till past noon to-day.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of two wall calendars for 1925 from Messrs. Educare and Co. (No. 1, East Street, Bombay), and R. V. Joshi (Sudashiv Peth, Poona City), respectively.

MUSIC AT BANDSTAND.

The Band of the 14th Bombay Grenadiers will play a programme of music at the Esplanade Bandstand to-day (Friday) at 5.30 p.m. (S.T.).

LATE MR. L. H. MAHISHARI.

On account of the sad death of Sheth Lakshminji Hirji Mahishari on the 30th ult., the C. D. Oswal Jain Pathshala has expressed its "deep regret".

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS.
A meeting of the Reception Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress will be held in the Servants of India Society, Sadhurao Road, Girgaum on Tuesday (the 6th inst.) at 7 p.m.

VICTORIA OWNERS' AND DRIVERS' UNION.

Mr. Jhabvala, the President of the above Union, writes to-day after a long interview with the Police Commissioner on the subject of the grievances of the Hack Victoria Owners and Drivers of Bombay. The Police Commissioner desired that the Union must send in all the grievances duly written out along with a copy of the constitution and Rules and Regulations of the Association. Accordingly all the grievances were forwarded to him in writing and also a copy of the constitution. After careful consideration the Commissioner has now appointed Mr. Jhabvala to receive a Deputation of the representatives of the above Association as soon as the Police office reports after the Christmas vacation. It is hoped that the cases of the men will be satisfactorily settled as the Commissioner has begun to take a satisfactory view of things.

FUNERAL REFORMS.

SANATAN DHARMA STUDENTS.
Mr. C. T. Talpade, Member Representative Assembly Rajkot, during his short visit to Bhavnagar, delivered a lecture on "Our Future Presidents," before the students of the Sanatan Dharm High School, Bhavnagar. After the audience were convinced of the need and utility of Funeral Reform, the Headmaster of the School, Mr. J. B. Talpade, moved that according to the Sanatan Dharm, a dead body should be carried in a hearse drawn by bullocks, but the lecturer's suggestion was not followed. The time being so far as their present practice was concerned. The following resolution was then passed: "The Sanatan Dharm is a religion of humanity to man, and further the cause of human reform, we the students of the Sanatan Dharm High School, Bhavnagar, request the social and sanitary bodies of seven ask the local authorities to provide for the beginning of funeral reform, with the facility of a public house and to make the use of it to all our communities at the functions of local funeral parties, and not to observe the custom of weeping loudly in public at the time, but to follow the practice solemnly as in the Vedic period, the present practices being treacherous and crude."

PROVISION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

MR. JHABVALA APPEALS TO COUNCILLORS.

Mr. Jhabvala has forwarded an appeal to different members of the Legislative Assembly as well as to the Legislative Council of Bombay in the course of which he says:—
On behalf of the Central Labour Board which is an organization consisting of seven large Unions in Bombay, comprising a large number of organized workers of Bombay I beg to address you the following few lines on the question of Unemployment which I beg you will give your kind attention to.
A large number of unemployed men are to-day starving in our country who in spite of their hands and brains to think cannot find work by which to sustain themselves and their dependents. Thousands of such unemployed are to-day languishing in the streets. They have been bred up in purely dependent conditions and so cannot start even small industries and business on their own initiative. Again, these unemployed are not in an organized state and so neither can correct estimates be arrived at as to their numbers, nor as to their present condition and possibilities of any of helping them to find jobs for their Government has large organizations like the Labour and Industries Departments by which to get definite information but yet Government has not moved in the direction. Will you deem it your duty to ask Government why it is so or could you bring a definite resolution on the subject if you think it fit?
Secondly, every man in the country has the right of work. A large number of intelligent middle-class people are to-day thrown out of work; they cannot get suitable jobs anywhere in spite of their volunteering to accept only a living wage and thus a large industry of national energy is being daily wasted.
Employers are not effecting retrenchment in their offices or firms as a result of which also a heavy loss is being incurred by the State and of Society to find work for them. Government in England have thus initiated a large number of unemployed people in different departments of industrial activity or even by starting extra work of their own in which the unemployed could be accommodated. But Government here are helpless looking on while hundreds of unemployed are daily dying through starvation. Why should Government here not look after the children of this soil over whose destiny it presides? Government is the biggest co-operating factor in the country and the immediate solution rests in its offering every help promptly so as to relieve the situation.
May I request you who have so zealously and ardently championed the cause of the unemployed in the country to bring forward a Bill so as to move Government to provide work to the unemployed or encourage them by means of money to start small industries or to provide for Unemployment Benefits to the people on the basis on which it is done in other civilized countries? A resolution in the above effect will arouse interest in the question all over the country and the millions who are without work or under-employed will begin to draw the more sympathetic notice of both the State and Society.

MR. H. C. COYAJEE.

Yesterday's "Bombay Government Gazette" notified that Mr. Hormadkar Coovadia Coyajee, LL.B., has been appointed to act as Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay, vice the Hon. Mr. Justice A. M. Kaji, Barrister-at-Law, who proceeds on leave.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

MEETING AT DELHI ON 23RD JAN.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, Secretary of the All-Parties Conference Committee writes:—
The meeting of the All-Parties Conference Committee will be held in Delhi on the 23rd instant at 5 p.m. As addresses of all the members nominated at Bombay have not yet been received it is requested that this public notice will be taken as an invitation to all the members to attend. The place of the meeting will be announced in good time before the date fixed. Member intending to attend are requested to inform me of their addresses in Delhi.

SWARAJYA PARTY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING AT NAGPUR ON 11TH JAN.

Pandit Motilal Nehru General Secretary of the Swaraj Party writes:—
A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Swaraj Party will be held at Nagpur on the 11th January to consider the situation.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE'S OFFER OF FREE SERVICES.

In view of the fact that some agencies are carrying on the business of securing compensation to the dependents of workmen fatally injured in industrial accidents and charging fees, as it is understood at the rate of 10 per cent of the amount of compensation, the friends of labour in the city are requested to inform such dependents that the Social Service League undertakes this kind of work without charging any fees, in as much as most of the cases of fatal injury do not involve any considerable legal or other difficulties. Cases of permanent or temporary disablement will also be taken up and legal aid if necessary, will be provided at extremely moderate charges, some friends of the legal profession having offered their services for the purpose. The League has already helped several workmen in this way. Those in need of such help may be directed to any of the centres of work of the League, viz. the Working Men's Institute, Puharvi, Parel; Madanpura Settlement, Gholabhai Street, Borealis; Parel Settlement, Chinchpokli; and the Head Office, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum.

NORTH BRITISH AND MERCANTILE INSURANCE CO.

The North British and Mercantile Insurance Company, Limited, has transacted Life Assurance business in India for sixty years, and has recently concluded the most extensive investigation which has ever carried out in respect of Indian lives. The investigation shows that there is progressive improvement in the mortality among the Company's insured lives in India, and rates of premium for Indians have been substantially reduced from the 1st January 1925. The fact that the old and wealthy Company which has specialised in Indian business now finds it possible to reduce premiums for new insurances will be pleasant news to the Indian public. The Company has Branch Offices at Bombay and Calcutta and Indian gentlemen actively representing it throughout India.

CARTER THE GREAT.

ILLUSIONS AT EXCELSIOR.

The opening night of Carter the Great at the Excelsior Theatre on Thursday was witnessed by a large and cosmopolitan crowd. A dozen small items comprised the first of the three parts into which the programme was divided. The Astrol next to the mysterious Crystal Case was perhaps the most interesting in this bouquet of mysteries. A wooden hand on a glass plate answered all questions which were satisfied with a "yes" or "no." Several of the items are common though one or two had a very interesting conclusion. Miss Evelyn Maxwell's exhibition of light of thought and mental telepathy was a great success. She was extremely prompt and accurate and the audience was immensely pleased with her answers. An order to facilitate the asking of personal affairs Miss Maxwell's offers a splendid opportunity which is to answer all questions by post if one of her cards—available at the Theatre for a small sum—is enclosed with the query. Carter's masterpiece—Sawing a live woman in halves let the crowd guessing. A live pretty girl is hypnotised by Carter—two doctors hold her feet and head, and hands, and then directly before all eyes she is seen in twain and auditors are permitted to walk between the severed parts of her torso. The spectacular illusion "Lion's Bride" was not quite so mysterious as was expected. There was a little hitch somewhere. Probably the first night performance will be improved upon as far as this part is concerned.
The magician was given a very cordial reception and from the attendance it was evident that show of this type appealed to the Indian section of the audience. It only the show started at 9.30 instead of 9.45 p.m. and the orchestra did not hush the crowd to sleep after every interval there would be much more satisfaction.

DEAD BODY FOUND FLOATING IN TANK.

Mr. A. R. King, the Coroner held an inquest over the body of an unknown Hindu aged about 35. The deceased was "dressed in a blue shirt, a khaki bundi and a dhoti." A piece of cloth was tied round the head of the deceased.
The evidence showed that the body was found floating in the tank of the Mahatma Temple on Wednesday in the afternoon. The gardener of the temple was the first to notice the body who informed the police and had the body removed to the morgue. There were no marks of violence.
The jury returned a verdict of death by drowning, and observed that there was no evidence to show how it occurred.

NEW YEAR HONOURS.

BRITISH LIST.

LONDON, Dec. 31.

The New Year Honours include:—
An Earlship has been conferred upon Viscount Jellicoe.

Baronies have been bestowed upon Sir John Bradbury and Sir Henry Duke. The Marquis of Londonderry has been created a Privy Councillor.

Three Baronets include Sir Charles Molson.

Knightships include Mr. Edmund Gosse, and Mr. Frank Dicksee, the new President of the Academy.

Order of Merit has been conferred upon Sir James Frazier and Sir Ernest Rutherford.

Dames Grand Cross (British Empire) have been bestowed upon Miss Ellen Terry and Mrs. Pawcett.

Commander of Bath has been conferred upon Lieutenant-General T. E. Scott and Sir Andrew Skeen.

Companions of Bath have been conferred upon Major-General S. F. Green; Major-General C. A. Godwin; Major-General H. J. Banfield; Major-General G. G. Loch; Major-General C. L. Porter; Major-General G. R. Cassels and Major-General D. I. Shuttleworth.

Commander of Michael has been bestowed upon Sir Solomon Bandaranaike in recognition of his services to the Government of Ceylon.

HON. COMPANION OF MICHAEL.
Honorary Companion of Michael has been conferred upon the Sultan of Lahor.

Mr. James Lochore has been created a Knight Bachelor in recognition of his public services in Ceylon.—*Router.*

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COMPANIONS OF BATH.
Companions of Bath have been conferred upon Major-General S. F. Green; Major-General C. A. Godwin; Major-General H. J. Banfield; Major-General G. G. Loch; Major-General C. L. Porter; Major-General G. R. Cassels and Major-General D. I. Shuttleworth.

Commander of Michael has been bestowed upon Sir Solomon Bandaranaike in recognition of his services to the Government of Ceylon.

HON. COMPANION OF MICHAEL.
Honorary Companion of Michael has been conferred upon the Sultan of Lahor.

Mr. James Lochore has been created a Knight Bachelor in recognition of his public services in Ceylon.—*Router.*

C. P. SWARAJIST.

COUNCILLORS

MEETING ON 11TH INST. AT NAGPUR

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

YEOTMAL, Jan. 1.

Mr. M. S. Aney, President of the Bharat Bhush of the Swarajya Party, informs the Associated Press that the meeting of the Swarajist members of the Central Provinces Legislative Council which was announced to be held at Akola on the 4th instant has been postponed to the 11th instant, the venue also having been changed to Nagpur where it will take place at the bungalow of Mr. Deshmukh, Barister-at-law. It is understood that the change was made in order to suit the convenience of the C. P. Swarajists who have fixed their meeting at Nagpur on the 11th instant.

15TH ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE.

A SUCCESSFUL SESSION.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

BELGAUM, Dec. 27.

The fifth All-India Students' Conference met this morning at 8 a.m. in the spacious and tastefully decorated hall of the Congress Subjects Committee, under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Raddy M.A. (Cantab.) M.L.C. of Madras. The audience was both large and representative and could certainly not be less than 2,000.

Mr. S. S. Dassi, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates and clearly explained the aims and ideals of the Conference. Mr. S. V. Mehta then proposed in a most little speech that Mr. Raddy should take the Chair on the occasion. He was eloquently seconded by Mr. B. D. Baki, General Secretary of the Conference, who eulogized the fine work done by the President-elect in the field of education for a number of years. Mr. C. R. Raddy then delivered his address which was a thought-provoking and well-reasoned speech. He laid particular emphasis on what the students could do for the masses. He did not want, he said, that the students should meet year after year and do nothing but pass resolutions. They could do much if only they had the requisite grit and will. They could educate their illiterate brethren by conducting night-schools. They could lecture the village-folk on such things as sanitation and co-operation with great benefit to the latter. He appealed to the students to cultivate breadth of outlook and tolerance.

MAHATMA'S EXHORTATION.
At this stage Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the Pandit and welcomed a warm welcome. In compliance with the request of the President and the audience, the Mahatma spoke most feelingly for about 10 minutes. He exhorted the students to practise Swadeshi and wear Khaddar. He explained as to how the salvation of India was bound up with the spread of the spinning-wheel. He told the audience that he was not prepared to admit the plea of want time. They could do the work provided they had the will to do it. Finally he declared that Khaddar was not the symbol of hatred of any body but that it was the symbol of love and self-dependence. The Mahatma was then extremely kind and polite. The President thanked him for blessing the Conference after which the Mahatma left the Pandit.

Mr. S. Srinivas Ayyangar then made a powerful speech and asked the students to read Indian History very carefully. He denounced untouchability and requested the students to promote good feeling between various communities in their schools and colleges.

Moulana Shaikat Ali followed him with the witty introductory remark that in spite of his grey hair, he felt that he was a young man. He exhorted the students to keep Mahatma Gandhi before them as their ideal.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then made a magnificent speech which was highly appreciated by the audience. India could not, she said in fiery terms, demand Swaraj effectively unless the blot of untouchability was washed off. She asked Indian youths to develop strength and follow high ideals. She wound up with an impassioned peroration amidst enthusiastic cheering. The leaders viz. Mr. Naidu, Mr. K. Venkataswamy, Mr. T. Prakasam, Mahatma Shaikat Ali left the Pandit.

The conference then adopted a resolution expressing its sense of grief at the deaths of Bi-Amma, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, Mr. Bau and others.

THE WEATHER.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

SIMLA, Jan. 1.

Disturbance over the South Punjab and North Rajputana yesterday is passing eastwards after giving nearly general rain snow in the North Punjab and Kashmir with local rain in the North-West Frontier Province.

Rain has also fallen in the Bay Islands. Thin clouds, 70 founts are—Port Blair one and a half inches, Salween, Rawalpindi and Peshawar quarter of an inch. Cherra one and a half, Srinagar one and a half, Sonamarg one.

Forecast:—Decrease in the North Punjab, Kashmir and North Western Frontier Province.

Official and Personal.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the Muslims of Bengal at Belvedere on Wednesday.

His Excellency the Viceroy visited H. M. S. Chatham, the flagship of His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief on Wednesday at Calcutta.

His Excellency the Viceroy dined at Tollymore with the President and Committee of the Calcutta Horse Show on Wednesday afternoon.

BELGAUM

IMPRESSIONS.

BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

When there are too many impressions all clamouring for expression, the registrar's task becomes unenviable. Such is my position as I take up the pen to register my impressions of Belgaum. I can but try.

Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and his band of workers rose to the highest height. His Vijayanagar was a triumph, not yet of Swara—but certainly of organisation. Every detail was well thought out. Dr. Hridikar's volunteers were smart and attentive. The roads were broad and well kept. They could easily be broader for the convenience of the temporary shops and the easy movement of thousands of sight-seers. The lighting arrangement was perfect. The huge pavilion was a masterpiece in that it seemed to merge all who would enter it. The capacity of the pavilion could not be less than seventeen thousand. The sanitary arrangements though quite good needed still more scientific treatment than what they had. The method of the disposal of used water was very primitive. I invite the Cawnpore people, who are to have the honour of holding the Congress session of 1925 to study the most effective methods of camp sanitation now and not leave this very important part to the eleventh hour.

What I am able to give ungrudging praise for the almost perfect organisation that one could see into the Congress camp, I cannot help remarking that Gangadhar Rao could not escape the temptation of making the outside look lavish and in following the traditional custom of going in for extravagant luxuries for the people at the top. Take the presidential "hat." I had bargained for a khaddar hat; but I was lured with a khaddar hat. The floor space reserved for the President was certainly quite necessary. The "ramp" round the "palace" was an absolute necessity for my protection from embarrassing admiring crowds. But I am sure that, had I been contractor, I would have given the same space and the same comfort to the President at half the expense. This however is only one instance of the many I can quote of lavish expenditure. The refreshments supplied to the members of the Subjects Committee and others were unnecessarily lavish. There was no sense of proportion observed as to the quantities served. I am finding fault with nobody. The extravagance came from a generous heart. It was all well meant. Forty years' tradition cannot be undone in a day, especially if no one likely to gain a hearing will repeatedly criticise it. I know, when I suggested that Vallabhbhai in 1921 that he should make a beginning, he retorted by saying that whilst he would try to attain simplicity and avoid extravagance, he would not allow his "pet Gujarat" to be considered miserly. I could not persuade him that if he did not have a temporary fountain costing several thousand rupees he would not be considered miserly. I told him too that whatever he did was bound to be copied by his successors. Vallabhbhai would not take the hint of being considered miserly. I advise Cawnpore to lead the way. The extravagance of Cawnpore may be considered the extravagance of to-morrow. There were many things Vallabhbhai did discard. I did not hear any remarks about the disappearance of the things that were really not a felt want.

Let us remember that the Congress is intended to represent the poorest toilers who are the salt of India. Our scale must be so far as possible adjusted to theirs. We must therefore be progressively economical without being inefficient and stingy. In my opinion the charges for accommodation and food are much too heavy. We may do worse than take a lesson from the book of Swami Shradhanandaji. I remember the sheds at Thurlay for his guests who came for the Gurukul anniversary in 1919. He built grass sheds for them at a cost (I think) of about Rs. 2,000. He invited contractors to open restaurants on the ground and made no charge for the accommodation. No one could complain of the arrangement. They knew what they were to expect. Nearly 40,000 people were thus accommodated on the Gurukul ground without the slightest difficulty and with practically no expense. And what is more, each visitor received what he wanted and was at liberty to live cheaply or extravagantly.

I do not say that the Swami's plan should be copied in its entirety. But I do suggest that better and cheaper plans are imperatively necessary. The reduction of the delegate's fees from Rs. 10 to 1 was universally acclaimed. The reduction of lodging and dining charges would be, I am sure, still more appreciated.

The source of income should be a small entrance fee levied from every spectator. The Congress must be an annual fair where visitors may come and get instruction with amusement. The deliberative part should be an item round which the demonstrative programme should turn. It therefore should take place in decent time, as this year, and the appointments must be religiously observed.

I am not sure that the packing of all other conferences into one week serves any national purpose. In my opinion, only those conferences should take place during the Congress week that aid and strengthen the Congress. The President and the "Cabinet" must not be expected to give their attention to anything but Congress work. I know that, if there had been no other call upon my time, I could have better attended to the charge entrusted to me. I had not a moment left to me for contemplation. I was unable to frame the necessary recommendations for making the franchise a success. The fact is that the organisers

GURU GOBIND SINGH.

(BY PROF. HARNAM SINGH.)

SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE "CHRONICLE."

Guru Gobind Singh, as Lakh says: "was a law-giver on the pulpit, a champion in the field, a king on his matted and a fag in the society of the Khalsa." He has been a unique personality in history, the full bearing of whose life has yet to be realised. He was a Divine poet, sage, reformer, patriot, martyr, and saviour, the like of which may not come again. His great and lasting work was to preach the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man whereby he infused true manliness into the hearts of the people of this land. Day in, day out, he was engaged in his devout labours of weakening the stumbling soul to the realisation of Self, its duties and rights, its sins and sorrows, by morning and evening sermons, by free distribution of food and by extensive missionary work. Gradually and imperceptibly was he arriving at a complete regeneration of the people of India. Great, therefore, was the mission of Guru Gobind Singh, and truly great was the silent and unflinching sacrifice he made to root out the kingdom of oppression and tyranny from India. Guru Gobind Singh's name in Sikh history is one to conjure with. We look upon the Guru as the brain-ideal of all that is good and noble. His military achievements were only a chapter in his life. His political work was infinitesimally small as compared with his spiritual work. The Sikhs regard him as Nanak in spirit and he was so in fact like Nanak, he sang of God and glorified God. Like him, he discarded riches and power. "God's name is wealth and treasure to his servants" was the constant theme of his discourse. According to him it is a gross sin even to think of worldly enjoyment.

The times of his advent were very hard. The Hindu social system had deadened the hearts of people. Each individual lived for himself. The feelings of malice and sympathy were gone. The political disintegration was the order of the day, and it brought in its train other evils, the idea of which was shocking to humanity. A regular campaign under official patronage was going on to forcibly convert the Hindus to the Muslim faith. On this heart-rending scene Guru Gobind Singh appeared to the infinite relief of the hell-tormented world, just to preach a new Gospel to the oppressed humanity. A messenger of the Most High, he was sent into the world to put down rebellion from God's authority, to inaugurate righteousness and to suppress chicanery and fraud in any form. His strength only seemed to grow in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter and overcome. He had to do his duty to obey the orders of a Power higher than that of kings, and he did it at all hazards. His was the pleasure, as Emerson says in another connection of giving and not of taking. He gave his "aftermost all" for the service of humanity, and thanked his Creator for the opportunity. He gave him to serve it. His religion was a religion of love to man and devotion to God, and all his life he laboured to see the harmonious development of his country. Such was he whom we adore and whose birth anniversary we are celebrating to-day! In there a man in the history of the world who in such

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The Bombay Chronicle

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1925.

TAXABLE CAPACITY.

The deliberations of the Taxation Inquiry Committee illustrate the old maxim of there being only a step from the sublime to the ludicrous. Were it not for the seriousness of the points at issue, we would find much diversion in the "evidence" advanced before the Taxation Inquiry Committee by *soi-disant* experts who do not even understand the difference between direct and indirect taxes. Perhaps the witnesses have a provocation in being as reckless as they can be, in the excellent example afforded by the Committee itself in its utter incompetence for the immediate job in hand, and its total dependence on just one assistant secretary for doing the whole work. But when we find "economists" wasting public money, even at the invitation of the Taxation Committee, in a discussion whether or not the Land Revenue was a direct tax, we confess we reach the bounds of human patience. Notwithstanding all the special pleading that Government and their inspired press have indulged in, a Committee would be wanted for determining the real economic ability of the people to bear the burdens imposed upon them. The Committee was invited by some witnesses to consider the bearing of public expenditure on the taxable capacity of the people. The witnesses in question had the hardihood to quote the author and abettor of the Committee, Sir Basil Blackett, on the inevitable reflex of expenditure upon the taxable capacity of the people, and the Committee not merely evaded the point with masterly strategy, but just that point was omitted from the report supplied by the Associated Press! Inscrutable are the ways of Providence and of the Committees of Inquiry appointed by the Indian Government! We do not enquire as to who is responsible for the omission, but such tactics, however, cannot always succeed in evading or obscuring the real point at issue. Independent inquirers will do at their cost and risk what the Government are unwilling, for reasons best known to themselves, to permit. One such inquiry was that published the other day by Messrs. K. T. Shah and K. J. Khambatta under the title "Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India," which has apparently not met with the approval of the sacerdotal orders belonging to the financial sanctuary of Delhi. Another inquiry of a like description is that carried out by Mr. Findlay A. Shirras, Director of the Labour Office in the Bombay Presidency, and placed before the world under the imposing title of "The Science of Public Finance." What degree of "Science" there is in this mighty work of 600 pages, with an appendix proportionately formidable, of another 60 pages closely packed with statistics, we shall leave to experts to determine. But the publication must be admitted to be opportune, if only because of the attempt to consider the taxable capacity of the people of India, with the light and knowledge Mr. Shirras can command. It is a little unfortunate that Mr. Shirras should have treated this most important question in a perfunctory manner. A single chapter of twenty odd pages is all the space the author has deemed it necessary or legitimate to devote to the consideration of the Taxable Capacity in general, and of India in particular. "Taxable Capacity," says Mr. Shirras, "may be defined as the maximum amount which the citizen of a country can contribute towards the expenses of public authorities, without having to undergo an unbearable strain..... These authorities have to earn their living, and it is desirable to ascertain what this maximum limit at any time approximately is. Briefly taxable capacity is the limit of squeezability. (The italics are ours.) It is the total surplus of production over the minimum of consumption required to produce that volume of production, the standard of living remaining intact." (pp. 131-2.)

We have quoted at some length the conception of taxable capacity Mr. Shirras entertains, in order to show the hopelessly false view-point with which even learned writers approach such subjects in India,

when they are unconsciously arguing a case all the time, even as they follow a scientific investigation. Mr. Shirras is wrong fundamentally for a variety of reasons. He has overlooked altogether the determining force of public expenditure in shaping the taxable capacity, even under his conception of that phenomenon. Sir Basil Blackett has himself admitted that an expenditure like that on the Army in India, for example, may seem to have no direct or immediate bearing upon the taxable capacity of the people being improved; while the expenditure on the most lavish scale on Education, for example, may have a hundredfold return in improving the taxable capacity, if not in the present generation then in the near future. In considering the taxable capacity to be identical with the limit of squeezability, a most unhappy phrase under the circumstances of India, we may mention in passing, Mr. Shirras has unconsciously given expression to the irrepressible tendency of a foreign bureaucracy lording it over a dumb, dependent country, and not averse to squeezing the utmost from the people. This impression is strengthened when one goes further in the reading, and finds Mr. Shirras elaborating his definition, by explaining the "limit of squeezability" to be the difference between the total production and the minimum of consumption (again the italics are ours.) Apparently he seems to be innocent altogether of the limits of degradation and destitution to which a subject people can sink. But the fact that the Indian people, for example, are able to raise 400 crores in a variety of forms of taxation every year is no more a proof of a real surplus between production and the minimum of consumption in India, than the ability, let us say, of Mr. Shirras to cut down his own private expenditure would be of the just or fair wage he would claim from the Government for his unexceptionable services. We would be the last to suggest to Mr. Shirras that he should accept, for a standard of remuneration to himself and his class, the degree to which, under economic pressure of the most complex and irresistible type, they would be able to reduce their expenditure without absolutely dying out. But just as it would be unfair and illusory to set up such standards for individuals, and thereby evade the duty of the State to act as the model employer, so too it would be utterly iniquitous for Mr. Shirras to urge that the definition of the taxable capacity is the limit of squeezability. For the latter is a most elastic conception, which varies so enormously that only those who have known real, abject starvation can have any idea as to what it really means. And we know Mr. Shirras too well to believe that by the limit of squeezability he means the penultimate point of starvation!

We must be just to Mr. Shirras, however. He is not absolutely lacking in some inkling of the influence of expenditure in shaping the taxable capacity though he seems to have his own original way of expressing that influence. "Again," he says on the next page, "the surplus depends on the object or objects in view. Taxation devoted to the repayment of internal debt is very different from taxation devoted to the payment of external debt, or for such unproductive purposes as armaments." But this seems to be an after-thought, and is stated in such a light-hearted, round-about manner that one loses altogether the significance of the remark, unless one has been privileged to know the hidden processes of Mr. Shirras's mentality. He is further misled and misleading in the actual statistics of the volume of production in India, which he gives for 1922 to aggregate Rs. 2,866 crores, averaging Rs. 116 per head per annum. This is about 60 per cent. higher than the income estimated in that other and much more detailed investigation carried out by Messrs. K. T. Shah and K. J. Khambatta. The explanation is quite simple. Mr. Shirras enjoys a more enterprising imagination, and his Indian conferees patiently adhere to facts. Mr. Shirras has taken the milk produce in India to aggregate Rs. 278 crores per annum, on a basis of calculation and valuation of which the reader is hopelessly ignorant, and necessarily kept so under the method adopted by Mr. Shirras. Similarly, he estimates the non-agricultural or industrial wealth to aggregate Rs. 883 crores in value, simply on the assumption that because the non-agricultural population was, say 30 per cent., and the agricultural population 70 per cent., therefore the respective wealth in the two sections of the community was distributed between them in the same proportions! How very simple and ingenious it all sounds! Under that hypothesis we simply need not bother ourselves with the hopelessly parasitic character of a large section of the non-agricultural population, which produces no real or material utilities at all, and yet levies in our insane commercial organisation of society a disproportionately heavy toll upon the poor agriculturist for the invaluable benefit of his unproductive services. But perhaps such double counting and special plead-

ing was inevitable if the case Mr. Shirras has commissioned himself unconsciously to establish was to be proved.

HONOURS.

Not long ago, South Africa indicated to Britain her wish to be spared from the bestowal of honours. In Australia, they take an odd title in the shape of a privy-councillorship for the Premier. In Canada not even a dog wants to be called Rao Bahadur. In England, titles have become suspect, though it is the King, who is the fountain of honour. Everybody knows that titles may be bought by adequate contribution to party-funds which, of course, are not audited. When the Labour Party came into power, it was supposed that they would suppress the snob's token. They restricted the shower of honours, but they showered it all the same. The friend who gave Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a Daimler car and endowed him with shares in a biscuit-company to sustain the petrol-bill, was honoured with a baronetcy. Mr. MacDonald never meant it as recompense, but the vulgar crowd noticed that the scheduled price of the title agreed with the cheque of Mr. Grant. It was awkward, but the biscuit-fed car of the Labour Premier was useful in the propaganda against honours. Japan copied the British system of honours, but there too there is a slump in the appreciation of titles. In the British Empire, India will remain, for some time, the most responsive field for titles and honours. The conditions of a subject country encourage the distribution of medals and badges. What have they to strive for except the acquisition of privilege and decoration? They can have a stunted political career, but at the last stage they require the patronage of the bureaucracy to carry them to international functions. Moreover title-hunting is allied to favours. Sir Umar Hyat Khan once pleaded in the Legislature that title-holders required exemption from the Arms Act, because they should be able to defend themselves against people who hooted at them! We have the peculiar adaptations of old Indian titles. Appellations like Rao Bahadur and Khan Bahadur represent the Catholic culture of the British Government who recognise obsolete Indian tradition. Europeans do not submit themselves to be called Rai Bahadurs, because they are only "native" titles. When title-hunters are high up in the ladder, they come within reach of adapted honours like the I.O.M. It is the Indian Order of Merit; the qualification "Indian" marks the condescension of it. It is the rare distinction which the Maharaja of Burdwan earned some time ago. He also got the status of Maharajadhiraja, the liege-lord of kings. When Indian Princes become Knights, the exaltation appears queer. The Gaekwar is a ruling prince to be sure, but in the warrant of precedence he is but a Knight whereas Sir Sassoon David is a baronet many leagues in processional advance. But Sir Sassoon gets no salute while the Rao of Cutch is received with the rattle of gun-fire. Indian titles are a complex of snobbery and anomalies, but there is one melancholy relief. There is no party-government in India, hence titles cannot be secured by party-donations. The fountain of honour plays according to the manipulation of officials. Faithful service in official schemes, donations to Simla charities, gifts for flower-shows and baby-weeks, subscription to loans and the general evidence of loyalism and fidelity, bring titles; and we glory in little favours.

Properly speaking, the Honours List should be read from the bottom upwards, for the susceptibility to honours should be measured by the bilious enthusiasm of small people for the smaller titles. The award of honours is, so to speak, pyramidal in form. If the base of Rao Sahibs and Khan Sahibs is narrow, the structure looks dangerous. If there is strong enquiry for the smaller scrips, the bigger lots appreciate in the market. In the present New Year Honours, the base is well-maintained by the profusion of titles for poor officers. The foundation of Sahibs and Bahadurs has been well and truly laid. Recruitment in the ranks is the real test of an army. We who live in cities examine the Honours List from the top, and we hear very little of stories like that of the disappointed sub-registrar who resigned and told the village that he had after thirty years of service, soared to the title of F. N. C. (Father of Nine Children). Viscount Lee of Fareham is invested with the G. C. S. I. The bureaucracy could not have done more, for it is the highest appreciation. He deserved it because he represents a bountiful act involving lakhs and lakhs out of the pockets of the tax-payer. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, who becomes K.C.I.E., is of the Curzon brand of Imperialists; he earned it by loyal service and it is a poor compensation to one who was

juggled out of a governorship. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoys K.C.I.E., appears like the painting of the lily. He is a "Sir" of long and loyal standing who ought to have had a baronetcy, but baronetcies are out of stock for India as indeed it was apparent two years ago when Sir Rajendranath Mukerjee was dismissed with a K. C. V. O. instead of a hereditary title. The Tariff Board is honoured by a K. C. I. E. for its chairman on the eve of dissolution. Miran Fazli-Hussain is exalted from his Khan-Bahadurship to Knighthood, while Mr. Cotton of the Bengal Council is happy to repeat the title of his father. At the time of Dufferin, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce had booked an annual Knighthood for its Chairman and Mr. W. C. Currie gets it. He is young and of the remorseless school of Lord Inchcape. Dr. Gour's Knighthood seems an amusing gift in return for the profusion of doctorates he gave to the High and Mighty on behalf of the callow University at Delhi. The name Sir Mahomedbhoys Hajibhoys sounds well and who would grudge him luck in the next shuffle? To be the Managing Governor of the Imperial Bank and not get a knighthood is ridiculous, and Mr. S. A. H. Sitwell blooms forth from the holiday berth of the Imperial Bank in London. Mr. Bowen's place as Government Solicitor is small for a knighthood and he deserves a lift in his career corresponding to his new title. His dread chase of Bolsheviks ensured for Colonel Kaye his knighthood. The C. I. E. scored by Dewan Bahadur Rangachari is too small for his size as a politician. He is a prominent Independent, interesting even when he spins out stinging criticisms of official misdeeds in the Assembly. For Dr. Gour to shine as a belted knight and him to lag behind as a mere C. I. E. is an outrage on propriety; it is not British justice. It must be a secretarial blunder deserving of correction on the Birthday Anniversary of the King-Emperor. The lower ranks are littered with minor worthies, all of whom we trust are gratified. Gratitude is a lively expectation of favours to come, and let them all prosper. Meanwhile, we suggest that some M. L. A. should move a resolution in favour of stopping every true democrat would condemn as the trumpery child's play of distributing honours. An ounce of honour is worth a ton of mercenary honours.

Notes of the Day

Frivolous Excuses.

The Liberals put away the unity resolution at Lucknow, but the A. P. representative was able to elicit from the leaders four objections against re-union with Nationalists. They may be disposed of readily, though the answers may suffer the risk of brevity at the hands of verbal analysts:—

Objection 1.—The Liberals can think of unity only if the Congress agrees to Dominion status for India.

Answer.—The Congress creed can be satisfied with Dominion status, but whether Indian freedom can be fulfilled within the formula or not, depends upon Britain. The Congress creed accommodates all parties and all contingencies. The Liberals are attached to querulous phraseology.

Objection 2.—The Liberal Party is for the abandonment of the non-co-operation movement and of all projects of mass civil disobedience.

Answer.—The Congress has not framed any mass civil disobedience movement. The non-co-operation programme has been dropped. The Liberals have not objected to any scheme of boycotting foreign cloth by non-violent means.

Objection 3.—The Liberal Party does not agree to the Swarajist Party being the accredited spokesmen of the Congress in the Councils.

Answer.—The Swarajists happen to lead the majority of Congressmen who deem Council action essential. It is open to the Liberals to join and snatch the lead out of their hands.

Objection 4.—The Liberals do not agree to the efficacy of the *charkha* and the yarn franchise.

Answer.—The yarn franchise does not involve any scruples of conscience and all Congressmen mean to adhere to it during the year. Liberals can spin or buy up their quota, increasing the total output, instead of paying four annas. The Congress will stand by the *charkha*, let the Liberals help selling it a "cottage industry."

Cheques No Protection.

The unpopularity of Mr. "A." in Kashmir will be aggravated by the publication of her Reminiscences by Mrs. Robinson in a Sunday paper. The "Sunday Chronicle" received by last mail contains the first of a series of contributions from the pen of Mrs. Robinson. The Sunday journals pay very well and the retailing of the Robinson scandal will gratify the lewd curiosity of thousands of English readers. Recently the Association of British Journalists passed a resolution against the featuring of corrupt stories, but it is treated as a dead letter by journalists who know the morbid

ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCE.

(BY "MUSIC LOVER".)

My letter regarding the opinion expressed by Atiya Begum about the All-India Music Conference and suggesting the best means of preserving and encouraging Indian music published in the "The Chronicle" has not, so far, evoked any appreciable response from any of the readers except a letter from Mr. G. S. Dhurandhar, Sangit Visharad. Saying that he is voicing the sentiment of many like himself he remarks that it is "shocking bad taste to throw away thousands of rupees in a conference," that the programme of the conference is too technical to be of any practical value and "exclusive and personal and popular," etc., and adds that "all energies should be directed to founding a great Academy and not otherwise" and offers his services and those of a group of enthusiasts like himself to Atiya Begum in her noble idea of founding the Academy and suggests Bombay as the proper place for such an institution.

Causes of Decadence.

The programme of the A. I. M. Conference announced to be held in this month at Lucknow is an ambitious one. It seems to be solely intended for expert. Pundits and Ostadhs who can pass the days of the Conference in hair-splitting discussions on the most intricate technicalities and myriads of the different types of music, with the object of accomplishing the impracticable task of fusing together the different types into one co-ordinate system suitable for the whole of India. The question is whether it is advisable to spend money, time and energies in such fruitless discussions and annual festivities when there is a crying need all over the country for preserving at least the existing remnants of the Art from further deterioration and destruction. What has been the result of the preceding three Conferences, for which lakhs of rupees must have been spent? We do not see evidence of any good from them. The schools of music already existing are languishing for want of funds and encouragement. On the other hand we see clearly proofs of encroachment of foreign music on the field once occupied by Indian music. The Parsis whose interest in Indian music for the last forty years was steadily growing have been suddenly led astray. They are seen now to take more interest in Western system which is inferior to the Indian systems, being of recent growth, based mostly on harmony and not melody and appealing more to the lower than to the higher intellect. Not only they, but also many Hindus are being dragged away towards foreign systems. I do not think the fault lies with them. It is due to the intensive efforts made by the votaries of the foreign art for its spread and cultivation through various means and especially through the organisation of frequent concerts easily open to all classes. In accordance with the saying "something is better than nothing," many Indians have begun to have their dull hours recreated by any kind of diversion easily available to them.

Wanted Patrons. Among the several items of programme for the forthcoming A. I. M. Conference I notice two: Nos. 12 and 13 and they are:—"The best method of preserving the Art now available in the country," and "the scheme for popularising education in Indian music." To my mind, and I am sure, in the opinion of many, the best method is the method I suggested in my recent letter, viz., the establishing of music schools for a cheap and even free tuition of music for the benefit of all classes of people and encouraging the already trained and expert Artists by holding frequent exhibitions of their skill and attainments in the Art and adequately rewarding them. This can be done by the rich and influential citizens. Will the Nawabs, Rajas and other magnates assembling for the ensuing Conference give their thought first to this urgent matter? If they are sincere and earnest in their object they can arrange for establishing music schools in all important towns of India either by opening

(Continued on page 10.)

quality of their market. In introducing the first instalment, which is adorned with the picture of Sir Hari Singh and two interesting poses from Mrs. Robinson, the editor of the journal makes the following announcement:—

"On Sunday next the 'Sunday Chronicle' will commence publication of Mrs. Robinson's life story, as narrated by herself. She will set out all the salient facts of her career from girlhood to the period which has brought her so prominently before the world. Her narrative will be found a document of surpassing human interest, and as it will be published weekly and exclusively in the 'Sunday Chronicle', readers are advised to make sure of their copies from the news-agents."

Fine scoop has been copy-righted and we have no doubt that Mrs. Robinson's Life Career will eventually appear in the form of a book. In her prefatory contribution, the authoress seems inclined to elevate the scandal into a fragrant romance. She says: "Did I think of him whilst the trial was on the way? Perhaps so. The man has a haunting personality, grace of manner, pride of race." He had also a fortune of 35 crores inherited from his father. Terrible indeed will be the second punishment of Rajah Sir Hari Singh as he reads the Memoirs. Kashmir is a land of "superstitious" people and they will judge him without compunction.

INDIAN STATES AND SWARAJ.

MAHATMA ON RIGHTS OF SUBJECTS.

MR. KELKAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The proceedings of the Indian States Conference which was held in Belgaum during the Congress week—were opened by the Secretary Mr. J. Bhimrao who explained in a brief speech the need that was felt for such a conference. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar said that this movement was forty years behind the Swarajya movement in British India. If only one-fourth enthusiasm was displayed towards this conference one need not feel discouraged. Interested people are deliberately stating that the position of Indian States under the future Swarajya is beset with difficulties. The question, he added, was very simple. The inter se relations between the Central Government and the States would remain the same even in the future commonwealth of India. The composition and complexion of the Government of India would change. The Government would be responsible to the people and the Government would be composed of the people. Naturally the people in British India would insist on responsible Government being introduced in the States. Instead of bowing to the inevitable if the princes themselves anticipate this match of events and accelerated the progress it would be graceful on their part. The subjects of Indian States have to put forth tremendous efforts and to follow into the footsteps of their brethren in British India.

ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. K. G. Padmabathi Iyer his speech was read by Mr. Acharya. The Chairman of the Reception Committee referred to the breath of discontent stirring in the field of political advancement in India. He added that the people of Indian States were no longer in their reputed stupor of self-satisfaction but were awakened to a new life of nationhood and had many things to speak of and take counsel with one another and they needed full articulation which was denied to them. He reviewed how from independent powers enjoying equality of status among themselves and superiority of position with regard to the Governors of British mercantile factories, the Indian States were reduced to the position of subordinate alliance with no international relations that that to say, from political equality to subordinate dependence. He urged on the States' people to work and strive for responsible Government in their States and to seek representation in the Supreme Government. He appealed to the people of British India to extend their hand of fellowship to their brethren in the States and work their best to take the States' people with themselves in their march on the path of Swarajya. He regretted that sympathy and support was not forthcoming from even such a great body as the Indian National Congress. He exhorted the subjects of the States to strive their best to gain hearing and consideration in the deliberations of this national movement.

The President Mr. Kelkar was then duly elected. The Mahatma came and as he had to go immediately the President requested him to address a few words.

MAHATMA'S SPEECH.

Mahatma Gandhi was received with loud cheers when he entered the pandal. He said, "I am overwhelmed with the affection which is shown to me by all during the past few days. To-day the President of your Conference in adjourning the address to give me an opportunity to speak a few words, to you has given further proof of it. You may know that I was born in an Indian village. I know, Kathiawar States. My relations with them are cordial. Though I say little I am always watching the activities in the Indian States. In my Presidential Address I have made a reference to the Indian States. The all Parties Conference that met recently in Bombay has appointed a Committee to draft a scheme of Swarajya and in my address I have outlined my ideas of the coming Swarajya. I had to condense my ideas in the shortest space possible and so I could give very few sentences to the Indian States. There are some Vakil friends of mine who have something to say about this reference of mine to the Indian States. They are saying that I have spoken about the status of Indian Princes and Chiefs and nothing about their obligations towards their subjects. But I need not remind these friends of mine that rights always carry with them corresponding obligations. In my scheme of Indian Swarajya there is no idea of destroying the States. I wanted to bring out this view prominently before the public. If, however, subjects from Indian States migrated to British Indian territory owing to the oppression of any Indian Prince, the Swarajya Government will on no account hand over these people to the mercies of the Prince concerned. This guarantee to the subject and the guarantee to the Princes about their status postulate good government in the Indian States.

RIGHTS OF SUBJECTS.

In geometry there are certain postulates. So also there are some in the political science. When the Princes are guaranteed their status it is presumed that they will also guarantee progressive and enlightened government to their subjects. I am shortly to preside over the Kathiawar States Conference at Bhavnagar and I have reserved all my detailed say about the Indian States for this Conference long ago. But before my incarceration I had unfurled the banner of Satyagraha and I thought that my acceptance of the presidency of any of these Conferences might jeopardise the position of the Chiefs. I did not wish to put them in an awkward position and thus to mar the harmonious relations which existed between them and me. You know that I am an out and out believer in non-violence. To embitter the sweet relations between Princes and their subjects would be contrary to my principles. But I need not assure you that I can never forget the people of these States and their legitimate claims. My desire is to maintain sweet reasonableness in my handling the question of Indian States and I do not wish to prejudice any party. My sole desire is that the status of Princes and the rights of their subjects should be respected. I earnestly wish to enlist the sympathies of the Princes in this propaganda of Khadi and the Charkha. I have pinned my faith to the spinning-wheel. On it I believe the salvation of this country depends.

After the Mahatma left Mr. Kelkar gave a summary of his speech in Marathi and then read his English address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar said:— "Ladies and Gentlemen—You have been pleased to elect me to be the President of this Indian States Conference. I sincerely thank you for the honour you have done me. You also have thereby done me a service. For you have given me one more occasion to express my views on a much neglected question. I mean the question of freedom and the rights of the people of Indian States. I know something already about the conditions of people of the States and principalities in the Maharashtra. And I hope to profit on this occasion by learning something about the state of things in other parts of India, especially the Karnataka."

"This Conference is only one among the many subsidiary or auxiliary engagements held up at Belgaum for the Congress week. No wonder that it should attract only a small fraction of public attention. But I am glad that none of the other conferences has got that political character which this Conference possesses. I say this not because I happen to preside over this Conference, but because this Conference is to the people of Indian States what the National Congress is to the people of British India, from the point of view of political Swarajya."

I have said that the condition of the Indian States people is a neglected question and I say so advisedly. It is suffering from a threefold neglect. The British Government neglect it on the technical and plausible ground that they ought not to interfere with the liberty of administration granted by treaty or custom to Indian Princes and Chiefs. The subjects of Indian States themselves neglect it because they have no capable and self-sacrificing leaders, and also because they come face to face with repression with in very close limits as the result of any political movement. But an equally marked and yet more noticeable neglect is that shown by the National Congress."

STRAINING AT A GNAT, ETC.

The plea that the British Government cannot interfere with the freedom of administration of their political friends and allies must be taken with a big discount. This is straining at a small constitutional goat when whole non-constitutional camels are easily swallowed. It is an illustration of the sarcastic saying, "Divya Kaverandrita ratro tati Narmada." The prudish coquette in the parable affected horror when at full noon she heard the croaking of a crow as if she were alarmed by the presence of an unannounced stranger in her bed-room. But she had no scruple and had all the necessary courage to swim across the broad waters of the Narmada river at dead of night to meet her lover. In the same manner the paramount Government refuses to openly entertain complaints of

NATAL BOROUGHS ORDINANCE.

A BREACH OF PLEDGE.

A STRAIGHT QUESTION TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The President of the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, M.L.A., has sent the following telegram to the Government of India, in connection with the Natal Boroughs Ordinance:

"Committee. British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association do not consider it necessary to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy their unequivocal protest against the assent given to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance by the Governor-General of South Africa, as the Committee have before now submitted their strong disapproval of various other similar measures in the Empire. This assent on behalf of the Crown overlooks the solemn pledges given in 1896 that municipal rights of Indians there will not be tampered with. Committee repeat their inference that policy of Whites in South Africa towards coloured races is for their expulsion or reduction to servility. Committee beg to inquire on behalf of their members who have vested interests in various parts of the Empire extending to several generations, what steps Government of India propose to take to vindicate this breach of solemn pledge and insult to Indians as citizens of the Empire."

NO WAR DEBT NEGOTIATIONS.

NORMAN-ANDERSON MISSION.

LONDON, Dec. 31. Washington.—According to the officials of the State Department, the mission of Rt. Hon. Montagu Norman and Sir Alan Anderson does not relate to war debt negotiations. It is understood they will discuss the questions connected with general fiscal relations between the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve Board with the officials here.—Reuter.

HOBBS' CASE.

NEWTON'S EVIDENCE.

LONDON, Dec. 31. Mr. Newton giving evidence said that he first met Hobbs 20 years ago. Hobbs knew his name perfectly well. The question of getting money from Raja Sir Hari Singh was first broached to him in November, 1913, by Mrs. Robinson. Mr. Newton repeated the previous evidence with regard to the alleged conspiracy. The case was adjourned for a week.—Reuter.

S. A. UNION AND OVERSEAS MAIL CONTRACT.

LONDON, Dec. 31. Johannesburg.—With reference to the negotiations at present suspended between the Union Government and the Union Castle Company with regard to the renewal of the Overseas mail contract, the "Star" understands that there are best reasons for believing that the Union Government has been authoritatively advised that it will be unwise to enter into a contract exceeding three years in view of the probability of the Burns Imperial Air Service scheme maturing in the near future.—Reuter.

MESSAGE OF CHARKHA AND KHADDAR.

PRIZE OF RS. 1,000 FOR ESSAY.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.) AHMEDABAD, Jan. 1. Mr. Gandhi announces that Mr. Meharshanker Jagjivan has, at his request, expressed his wish to give a prize of Rs. 1,000 to the writer of the best essay on the message of the spinning wheel and khaddar.

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA-I-HIND.

MEETING AT MORADABAD.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.) DELHI, Dec. 31. A special meeting of the Jamiat-ul-Hind will be held at Moradabad, U. P., from 11th to 14th January, 1925. Hazrat Maulana Abdul Muhosin Mohamed Sujjad Sahib Bahi Amir Sheriat, Bihar and Orissa, will preside. By the 6th item the office of the above Jamiat will move from Delhi to Moradabad. Members of the Managing Committee should reach Moradabad on the morning of the 11th at the latest.

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS.

513 RETURN TO INDIA BY S. S. "DALGOMA."

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.) DELHI, Dec. 31. A communication has notified that s.s. "Dalgoma," carrying 513 returning Indian emigrants from Mauritius, including 222 Madrasis, is expected to arrive at Madras on 1st or 2nd and at Calcutta on 6th Jan. 1925.

Oslo.—The ringing of church bells at Christianity at midnight, on 31st December, announced that the capital of Norway had reverted to its ancient name "Oslo."—Reuter.

London.—In the Football Association Cup match replay, Barrow beat Gillingham by two goals to one at the New Cross.—Reuter.

FRENCH AMNESTY BILL.

ADOPTED BY CHAMBER.

REINSTATEMENT OF DISMISSED RAILWAYMEN.

LONDON, Dec. 31. Paris.—The Chamber has adopted the Amnesty Bill which includes the names of MM. Caillaux and Malvy as amended by the Senate. As a result of the Bill, the reinstatement of the railwaymen dismissed in consequence of the Railway strike of 1920 has been made optional for the railway companies.—Reuter.

FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE.

ANNUITIES QUESTION ON AGENDA.

LONDON, Dec. 31. Reuter is informed that the question of inter-Ally debts will not come up before the Conference of Finance Ministers at Paris, next week at which Mr. Churchill will be the principal British representative. The agenda of the Conference was fixed at the last London Conference which adopted the Dawes plan. The main question is the annuities payable to various Governments under the Dawes plan and cognate matters.—Reuter.

COLOGNE ZONE.

ALLIES' REASONS FOR NON-EVACUATION.

Paris.—Early next week, the Ambassadors' Conference will present to the respective Allied Governments the Note unanimously agreed upon by the Conference, briefly stating the reasons for the non-evacuation of the Cologne zone, after which the Allies will collectively present it to Germany.—Reuter.

ON SHOOTING EXPEDITION.

DUKE OF YORK'S "BAG."

Nairobi, Dec. 31.—After two days' journey by motor, the Duke and Duchess of York arrived at the Isolo Hunting Camp. Of the convoy of ten cars, two broke down on a difficult road. While nearing Isolo, the party encountered a cloudburst. Four and a half inches of rain fell inside of half an hour. The camp was waterlogged, but the Duke and Duchess of York, though drenched, enjoyed the awkward experience. Next evening, the Duke stalked a huge rhinoceros and fired, but the rhinoceros charged with terrific fury. The Duke allowed the animal to come up within 30 yards, and then fired again, and the rhinoceros rolled over. The Duke was delighted at the experience of a perilous journey. He bagged many bucks.—Reuter.

PROMISING OUTLOOK FOR IRAQ COTTON.

LONDON, Jan. 1. Mr. W. H. Himbury, General Manager of the British Cotton-growing Association, is leaving for Iraq from Manchester early next week probably via Alexandria, Beirut and Damascus and will spend a fortnight in Iraq where he will visit all areas. He may also devote his attention to prospects of cotton-growing in Palestine. Mr. Himbury is of opinion that the outlook for cotton in Iraq is very promising and large increases are expected for the next year.—Reuter.

LONG CREDIT CONTRACTS FOR INDIA.

LONDON, Jan. 1. The India and China sections of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce have informed the Department of Overseas Trade that they would not object to granting of application for long credits under the Export Credits Scheme in connection with contracts for engineering and other supplies to India, Ceylon, Straits and China.—Reuter.

OBITUARY.

LONDON, Jan. 1. Sir Francis Carruthers Gould, Cartoonist and Assistant Editor of the "Westminster Gazette" is dead.—Reuter.

PRINCE ARTHUR ARRIVES AT BIKANER.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.) BIKANER, Jan. 1. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught arrived at Bikaner at mid-day on December 30th as the guests of the Maharaja. Large crowds assembled outside the railway station and vociferously cheered their Royal Highnesses while they were driving on their way to Ganjgar. There was a duck shoot in the afternoon, and on morning of 31st His Royal Highness shot a sandpiper.

SHAHPUR MILL UNWORKABLE FOR SIX MONTHS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.) AHMEDABAD, Jan. 1. The Shahpur Mill which was partly burnt down will not be able to resume work for six months, 2000 operatives were engaged.

UNITY AMONG MUSLIMS.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI'S APPEAL.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S PROCEEDINGS.

We publish below reports of some of the important speeches delivered at the session of the All-India Muslim League on Wednesday, which were held over from yesterday's issue owing to pressure of space.

UNITY AMONG MUSLIM.

Maulana Shaikat Ali in moving the resolution on "Unity among the Muslims" said:—

The resolution I place before you is the most important of all the resolutions of the League. You all know that from 1911 such a dark cloud of calamity has overtaken the Muslim horizon that it has created a panic in every Muslim's heart. Our newspapers were muzzled and our men were gagged. But, in spite of all this, we served to the best of our capability, our motherland and Islam. We roamed in every part of India with this view in mind.

When the League was started, I was a Government servant. But my brother had much to do with the framing of the rules and regulations of the League. I was present in the room where things about the foundation of the League were being talked. There is no better man in India to present that resolution than I am.

I have heard a rumour about a talk amongst the members of the League that I was coming from Belgaum to capture the League. God forbid, I have no intention whatsoever except to serve you and other Muslims. Thank God that the League is again taking active part after a sleep of more than six years.

Today Hindus and Muslims are at each other's throat. It is very necessary to remove the misunderstanding between them. I wish that Muslims and Hindus with Mahatma's Gandhiji's help should take the matter over and thus bring about an amicable settlement of this twaray problem. I hope the Muslim League, the Khilafat Committee, the Shia Conference, the Tablighi, the Hinayatal Islam, the Jamiatul Ulama will meet together for the settlement of this question at a central place. I have no enmity with anybody, but I want to help all. People ask what is the remedy for Hindu-Muslim trouble. I say that you should all believe in a spirit of extreme toleration towards all; I for myself have sworn that I shall never fight a Hindu. I wish a Conference to be held in which men of all shades of opinion should come to discuss the question.

At this stage the Hindus suspect Muslims and Muslims vice-versa. But both have forgotten their common enemy.

M. ZAFAR ALI'S SPEECH.

The following is the speech of M. Zafar Ali Khan in support of the resolution moved by Maulana Shaikat Ali:—

"Five years ago I was shut up in jail for having entered a vigorous protest against the Unholy Treaty of Sevres. Some people think that my protest was unexpedient. At a time however, when Islam was in the throes of a catastrophic calamity and the Muslims of the world were engaged in a life and death struggle. Rationalism was no solution of the great riddle. Sentiment was the only way out of the difficulty and those mysterious forces which from time immemorial have swayed the destinies of nations could alone help the Muslims at the juncture. It was absolutely necessary that the Heart should not mind the Head, follow its own age-long dieties, but aside every consideration of expediency and jump into the fire just as the Prophet Ibrahim had done ages ago. The effect, as of yore was magical. The burning pit was transformed into a bed of roses. Those who are in the habit of priding themselves on the sanity of their judgment had to give way to men who are carried away by their impulses; and in the end the efforts of these very impulsive visionaries were crowned with unheard-of success. Islam was restored to life and it does our heart good to see that it is throbbing with a new energy which is radiating its heat in every direction. The independence of Turkey has been restored. The Turkish people were never so strong as they are at the present moment. Lord Curzon in a plaintive voice admitted as much. Lord Birkenhead, in a fit of impotent wrath, was heard of bewailing the humiliation of Britain at the hands of Ankara. Persia is now free from the aggressive interference of Christian Europe. Afghanistan has established its supremacy in Central Asia as an independent Islamic Power. The sword of Ibn-i-Saud has cut away the Gordian knot of the Hedjaz and the Arab problem is approaching a satisfactory solution. In Morocco Ghazi Abdulkarim is writing a new chapter in the history of modern Islam. The Ghazi has pitched himself against a nation of 15 millions armed to the teeth with present appliances of destruction, and although his territory is only 200 miles long and 30 miles broad, he has succeeded with the poor resources at his disposal in carving out a fine Muslim principality which is destined in the near future to grow into a powerful State. Thus in every part of the world outside India the future of Islam is bright and the time has come when we should turn our attention to our home affairs. The period of un-

divided attention to extra-territorial affairs has happily passed away and it is now our duty to devote some portion of our time to internal reforms.

Many of the Islamic countries have recovered their lost independence and others are engaged in a ceaseless struggle to obtain freedom. We alone remain slaves as before. How long will this slavery endure? Is India alone of all nations to be denied the right of managing her own affairs independently?

It is admitted on all hands that Swaraj is the ultimate goal of India. The King Emperor himself has promised us the blessing of Swaraj, while the thinking section of the Hindus and the Mussalmans has declared times without number that the only remedy for the countless ills of our people is Swaraj for which Hindu-Muslim unity is the sine qua non. The question, however, is how this unity is to emerge from the regions of idealism into the domain of practical politics. Unity is only possible between two equal powers. It is inconceivable that a Lilliputian should contract an alliance with a Broodinggiant, that a lunatic should make an abiding agreement with a person in the possession of his senses, that the weak should be the allies of the strong. This is true of Hindus and Mussalmans under the present circumstances. Mussalmans are far behind the Hindus in wealth, in education and in commerce. Union between the two under these conditions may certainly be likened to the relation subsisting between a slave and his master but it can never be an alliance between the two communities on equal basis. For the consummation of this union, it is desirable on every hand that the Mussalmans must become the equals of Hindus intellectually and economically. In order, however, to acquire this footing of equality, they must first unite among themselves. They should sink their petty differences; they should give up their inter-sectional bickerings; they should erect a common platform for the various parties into which they have been hitherto divided; and present a united front to the dark forces of reaction inimical to the progress of Islam. After all, what are our differences? Have not we Mussalmans a common ideal and apart from the difference in *modus operandi* is not this ideal the uplift of Islam and the establishment of Islamic prestige throughout the world? Without any fear of contradiction I claim that among the Mussalmans the greatest of extremists is at one with the most die-hard of reactionaries in this respect.

The time, I repeat, has come when the Mussalmans of various political creeds and denominations should band themselves together, come within the universal fold of Islam, draw up a common programme of future action, divide their labours, and in the spirit of perfect harmony and concord start on the path of unlimited progress which our Master (on whom be peace) chalked out for us over thirteen hundred years ago. With these words I commend this resolution, gentlemen, to your unanimous and wholehearted support.

REFORMS IN N. W. F. PROVINCES.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan in moving the resolution on reforms in the North West Frontier Provinces said:—

"The duty entrusted to me now is that the League urges upon the Government that they should give the same rights to the people of N.W.F.P. as are enjoyed by the people of the provinces. I think this is the most important resolution and I hope my Hindu brethren will support me in this. There are two parts in the N.W.F.P. One portion consists of five districts, Kohat, Bannu, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan. Formerly these districts were in the Punjab but in the time of Lord Curzon in 1901 along with five other trans-border districts this province of N.W.F.P. was created. Remember that when these districts were separated from the Punjab, the Government gave their word that their rights were not to be trampled upon. But those five districts have not yet their rights. The population of the Province is about 50 lakhs and most of them are Mussalmans. This populace, regarding its religious zeal, intelligence and strength has a special sort of preference, and it is the outcome of these things that he should get his right. Had that portion been a part of the Punjab, the people of that portion certainly would have enjoyed the same rights. That Province is only debarrated because it is N.W.F.P. If you want that the question should be settled easily then it is the best course that the N.W.F.P. should be considered a part and parcel of India and the same sort of facilities be given to them as to the peoples of other provinces. When the question of raw material comes, no doubt, they are a little backward regarding patriotism and morality, but the whole question is financial. If to the people of N.W.F. Provinces the same right of citizenship is given I think the Province will become a stronghold for the protection of India (Cheers). I see that there are great misunderstandings on that question because some times that province is the scene of bloody wars but if they are given freedom in true sense I mean rights of citizenship—then that misunderstanding will be cleared. That is a non-regulation province and the people themselves do not know their rights. I, therefore, hope you will pass the resolution."

M. MAHOMED ALI'S SPEECH.

Maulana Mahomed Ali in seconding the resolution said:—

I am glad that Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan has come to the field of politics and I hope that we all will be united which

ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 8.)

new ones or by patronising the already existing ones. The introduction and the fixing of a method of teaching music in public schools and colleges as mentioned in item No. 9 of the Conference programme is all right. It will create a general taste for the Art and inculcate among the boys and girls an elementary knowledge of music. So far it is good. The most that can be taught in such schools is merely a few popular devotional songs, ballads, choruses and nothing more. The delicate and difficult Art and Science of Music can be properly taught in schools solely devoted to music. For music like other important professional subjects such as law, medicine, engineering, etc., requires a regular course of instruction for a number of years to master up even a single section of the Art. Just as the knowledge of law, medicine, engineering, etc., is preserved and promoted by the establishment of special colleges for the teaching of these subjects, by Government or by the private sector, so also the Art of Music must be preserved and promoted by establishing music schools and patronising the trained artists either by Government or by the rich and patriotic public. The Government being an alien one, it is hopeless to expect any patronage from that quarter. It is, therefore, the duty of the wealthy Indians to protect the Art to prevent it from utter destruction.

Art of Dancing

Among other items of the Conference programme the item No. 4 is about the "Art of Dancing, ancient and modern." I cannot understand with what object this branch of the musical art is included in the programme, whether for mere theoretical debate in the Conference or for fixing up a dance technique for introduction into schools and colleges for women. Dancing is an art like vocal and instrumental music existing from time immemorial. It has undergone innumerable changes for better or for worse. And several types of it can be seen in different parts of the country, from the beautiful and graceful *Gandharva Nritya* of Hindustan to the artistic and athletic *Bharata Natya* of South India. Dancing has been universally recognised as an ideal exercise for women. It is not merely an Art beautiful to look at, but also one that promotes grace, beauty, agility, strength, and symmetry of body. Bobbie Tremaine, a notable dancer of Europe who had been to the East four years ago, says in respect of the Art thus: "Dancing is in the Orient a highly developed Art handed down through the centuries and as such employs all parts of the body from the toes to the fingertips. It is, therefore, not only an artistic expression of beauty of movement, but it is in itself a complete system of physical culture for women cultivating poise and co-ordination, developing the arms and trunk of the body and promoting spinal flexibility and organic health. The lesson is that it is especially to be desired that one should take her exercise in the form of dancing." Considering the value and importance of the Art as the best means for physical culture it ought to be encouraged everywhere in the country. Among the various types of dancing that of Bharata Natya of South India may be suitable for girls within their teens. For those more than twenty years of age the beautiful plait-dances of Madras, Tanjore-Kolams or Garba dances of Gujarat may do well; also the large varieties of dances performed in a company of girls as seen in the temples of South India and Goa will be beneficial as well as pleasant. For women more than thirty, the mild and smooth movements of Hindustani dance will suit well. These are all done in accompaniment to instrumental music. Will it be possible or advisable to introduce them in homes as well as schools and colleges in view of the severely restricted social conditions in India?

There are certain communities scattered all over India and known by different names in different parts. The female members of these communities are the sole repositories and exponents of the Art of dancing. In Bombay and Maharashtra they are known as *Nautikas*, in Goa and Kanara as *Kandhas*, in South India as *Devadasis*, in Andhra as *Devadattis*, in North India as *Kandhas*, and so on. They are the preservers, so to say, of what remains of the Art ancient and modern. Till about forty years ago they were doing well with their Art. Now they are not only ignored and their Art neglected, but also condemned everywhere as a result of the prejudice and hatred towards them, created and spread about forty years ago by some devious and pretentious theorists who pretended to convert "this mortal world into a New Heaven of ideal puritans and to whom whatever Indian was contemptible and everything foreign or Western was most abhorrent. Thus these people are more sinned against than sinning. They are condemned not so much for their own fault as for the sins of others, those of the former sex, who lead their astray, and spoil them by jealousy, false promises and other temptations.

A Gross Injustice

Having thus ruined them, such men passing themselves as fashionable folk are moving freely in high circles and societies as gentlemen; whereas their poor helpless victims, being of the weaker sex, are not only condemned as immoral, but also deprived of their respectable means of livelihood, i.e., the Art of Music, to which they devote their lives to follow it as their profession. What a gross injustice and cruel tyranny! The most deplorable fact is that most people of their own sex belonging to rich and high classes also hate them solely out of prejudice, partiality and jealousy, ignoring the sins and vices of their own husbands, brothers and sons. Such has been the cruel and unjust condition in this self-proclaimed Art of Music there are to be found Malabar and Pavlova. But they are all neglected and discouraged. Even the schools of music proved with the object of teaching the Art ignore these communities as hereditary profession is music and in search of patrons for their

schools from among the indifferent or so-called "amateur" people who can neither stick to the Art nor give time and attention sufficient for even a tolerably good training. Such has been the irony of fate even in this field of public concern!

This wrong principle and wicked policy is, I think, one of the main reasons why the several schools of music are not flourishing. It is only by giving tuition to the children of the professional classes, even free to the gifted ones, and by exhibiting their progress and talents now and then to the appreciative public that the schools of music will become famous and financially successful. This is one of the best ways of preserving the Art. Further promotion and progress of the Art can be secured by forming in every important city a powerful Association of wealthy and patriotic citizens of all creeds and communities for the purpose of patronising the Art in all its branches by organising frequent concerts and performances of expert musicians and artists wherever found regardless of caste, creed, sex or age and rewarding them according to their deserts. This will be a strong stimulus to the growth of music in all directions, since it will afford to every one concerned an opportunity of witnessing large varieties and novelties of talents and attainments in the different fields of the musical art, and also create a spirit of healthy competition among the artists. Again, on the other hand, such Associations composed of the leading men of all communities viewed from social and patriotic standpoints will be strong standing Unities in these critical times, since no other congregations will contribute so much towards unity, friendship and love than those frequently meeting for the pleasant purpose of collectively enjoying and appreciating the delight of music.

INDIAN STATES AND SWARAJ.

(Continued from previous page.)

Indian subjects about the administration in Indian States, but in secret it can do any number of unrighteous things towards their rulers in their own interests. Treaties in black and white can be misconstrued and given an unwarranted meaning. Novel devices of lapse and escheat can be introduced at will in practice. The Hindu right of succession to Gadi by adoption can be withdrawn. Disadvantageous conditions can be imposed upon a minor Prince as the price of his investiture with full powers of administration in his attaining the technical age of majority. Land in Indian States can be acquired for foreign railway companies at a nominal price; and their rivers can be bounded so as to deluge whole villages in State territory in order that irrigation canals drawn from them may benefit the British raj and add to British revenues. Lands may be acquired for foreign capitalists to dig out and export rich mineral resources of Indian States on payment of a nominal sovereignty. The States can be subjected to the loss of profits of coinage in the name of commercial convenience, and easy bargains can be driven with them in respect of purchase of special monopolies.

As for the personal treatment of Indian Princes one can only imagine what may happen behind the parda when the gulls, the cowards, the simpletons, among them come face to face with political offices accomplished in statecraft in its seductive aspects. Even the more spirited among them have tales to tell of how they fared under the rack of the thumb-screw of a haughty ruler on occasions of evil memory. Surely the necessities among British subjects may have in many cases a more enviable lot as compared with Indian Princes, when we take into consideration the dilemmas with which their path is beset; owing to their vested interests on the one hand, and the sneaking subtle coercion of the political department on the other. We can wickedly hope that those secret sufferings of the Indian Princes may reveal to at least some of them by the principle of *atmaupamyam*, that is to say, realisation by parallelism, the miserable plight of their subjects under their own autocratic rule.

No doubt the Montford Report has distinctly advised the Indian Princes and Chiefs to put their house in order, and warned them that they cannot hope eternally to escape from the advancing tide of democratic Swarajya. Also Governors and Viceroy occasionally throw out gentle hints about the introduction of political reform in Indian States. But they are generally lost in the effusion of the courtly compliments and plentiful praises bestowed by the representatives of the paramount power upon the Princes. Perhaps the occasions on which they both meet are unsuitable to any words of harsh and minatory advice. For the occasions are those of the periodic visits of Governors and Viceroy to the favoured States at the invitation of the rulers, and the very laws of hospitality on the one hand, and of common courtesy on the other, impose peculiar conditions of forbearance on the part of guest as well as host. We do not wish that these laws of correct conduct should be violated. But our complaint is that the paramount Government do not let the Indian Princes know the real nature of the question of representative and responsible Government even by the legitimate use of other occasions and methods which are open to them of the purpose. The sweetness of the Spring need not be carelessly spoiled by the thunders of heaven. But there is a time fixed for the advent also of the rains, and we betide humanity if the clouds refuse to do their duty of darkening the heavens and making a wholesome display of lightning as the result of accumulated heat at the end of the hot ("grison") season.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES AND PARAMOUNT GOVERNMENT.

It was hoped that the establishment of the Chamber of Princes or the Narendra Mandal would result in a suitable expression to the duties as well as the rights of Indian Princes. But while the Princes have not been able to use the new machinery to successfully assert their own rights as against the paramount Government, the latter in turn have failed to address a single word to the Princes in the matter of their obligations towards their subjects. The Chamber of Princes has proved nothing better than a gilded lounge or a political smoking room. It is a Chamber which is locked for years together, and even then only for a brief while and even then the discussion of fundamental or radical questions is given the entire go-by. The Narendra Mandal is a good old classical name. But it signifies for the present nothing more than its anachronistic character. Its constitution is yet unsettled. Some of the biggest Indian Princes still consider it beneath their dignity to sit in the Chamber, and the remaining chairs are filled by Princes who are either the favourite nominees of Government or are elected by pocket-burghers. The Princes who have sought admission into the Chamber, with the exception of the Maharajah of Bikaner and the Maharajah of Gwalior, too unimportant to take up the responsibility of fundamental questions of the relations between the Indian States and the paramount Government. Surely there are more weighty problems than horse-breeding upon which the Indian Princes should take counsel among themselves or with the British Government. But I do not wish to dwell on this topic at any length. I sympathise with the Indian Princes and feel that their legitimate rights as friends and allies are being gradually ignored or suppressed by the paramount Government. But leaving them to the spur of their self-interest for remedying the position, I would content myself with putting my finger on that defect of the Chamber of Princes which relates to the interests of "the States People."

And I would rather have the Chamber abolished summarily if the question of Popular Government in Indian States is ever to be taboored therein.

Even apart from the Chamber of Princes I regret to find that the Indian Princes profess to be free from all obligations to their subjects in respect of the grant of real Representative Political Institutions. Even the enlightened leader of the Chamber, I mean the Maharajah of Bikaner, is seen to draw a subtle distinction between the rights of the people in British India and of the people of Indian States in respect of Swarajya. His contention may be that in the Indian States there is more Home-Rule than in the British India, but that only so far as the indigenous or native character of the agency of Government is concerned. But in respect of institutions which may voice the opinion of the subject people, the claim must be disallowed. In that respect in British India we have certainly made greater advance, for the theory of personal Monarchy has been completely knocked down on the head there and our fingers are eager and struggling to clutch at the prize of responsible Ministers and Chancellors in the Imperial as well as the Provincial Governments. And if an enlightened ruler like the Maharajah of Bikaner can express such crude sentiments unabashed, one can imagine what must be the psychology of those other Princes and Chiefs who are still steeped in the darkness of the middle ages, who believe that they are an integral part of the Supreme Divine Being, who claim that their own breath must be the only valid source of authority in their territory, and who fancy that their royal court is a handy ante-chamber to Paradise, through which their Divine Presence could make its entrance and exists in either of the allied regions of heaven and earth. The rebuffs, the insults and injuries which Princes receive at the hands of the British Government might, one expects, have disillusioned them from their aerial fancies and land them on the terra-firma on which they must consider as well as exact accounts, and adjust their relations with their own subjects as well as with their superiors, the paramount Government.

PRIDE OF ANCESTRY.

But it is, I know, a vain hope for some time to come. The Princes seem yet uncorrupted by thoughts of their noble birth and ancient traditions. I was amused to read, in the speech of the Jamsahab at a recent banquet given by the Kathiawar Princes in Lord Reading, interesting stories about the ancient origin of many of these present. They were all, it seems, either direct or indirect descendants from the eternal deities like the sun and the moon or divine incarnations like Shri Krishna or Shri Rama. Now, I do not mean to cynically rail at the pride of ancestry displayed by the Jamsahab. We are all proud, in our own way, of our birth and forefathers; but my amusement arises from the fact, that the Kathiawar Princes, who represent in this respect probably all other Princes elsewhere, are happily ignorant that their subjects also have a divine origin. God, according to the Hindu doctrine, had to go out of his way to assume human form to be able to adequately realise himself for the purposes of this world of his own creation. Without the convenient medium of humanity it is impossible for even divinity to express itself in certain of its aspects. Shri Krishna from whom the Kathiawar Princes claimed their origin was the son of man, was born in prison, and had to be reared up to manhood under the cover of false personation. Himself a coward, he mixed with the unwashed children of other cowards. He sat on the same blanket with them, sang the same songs, played the same sports, and shared with them rice, oil, his food and butter but their joys and sorrows. But Shri Krishna did not forget himself or his companions and friends even when he became a king and ruled over a city in which there were houses built of gold. He made his whole harem to wash the dusty feet of a poverty-stricken companion of his youth, and took delight in their fight for a share in the handful of parched rice which was the only present he

could offer. In the Yagnya ceremony in the palace of Pandava, he collected the plates and washed them when the feast was over, and on the battlefield he groomed the horses of the human pupil to whom he revealed the supreme and the beautiful wisdom of the Gita. Throughout his career he is known more as the friend of the right and the just and sworn enemy of the wrong. He too knew intrigue, but he spared only for those who could be defeated only by intrigue. My advice therefore to the Kathiawar Princes is that if they take pride in their primal ancestor Shri Krishna and would emulate his example, it can be more profitably done by imitating his virtues and his love of humanity. Otherwise the worst of their subjects may taunt them with the bare truth that they too are chips from the same divine block:

"From you blue heavens above us bent
The gardener and his wife,
Smile at the claims of long descent,
Kind hearts are more than crowns,
Your pride is yet no mate for mine,
Too proud from whence I come."

So retorted the self-respectful peasant boy in Tennyson's song to the wicked princely coquette. And so can vividly say the common subject of the Indian Prince to his political ruler.

The warrior Karna says to Ashwatthama:

"Daivayant Koole Janma madayantam cha paurosham."

"DAIVAYANTAM KULE JANMA MADAYANTAM CHA PAUROSHAM."

In these terse words, brevity and truth go gracefully hand in hand, and Indian Princes will remember that their States will be doomed if they do not betimes enter into the spirit of the coming democracy and shape their policy and programme accordingly.

A VAIN HOPE.

I hope you have seen from all this that it is a vain hope for the Indian States' subjects to depend upon the British Government, and much less so upon the Indian Princes to win their freedom and their rights of Swarajya. Their first and their last resort in this matter must be themselves. It is only by their own strenuous efforts and sacrifices that they can make an impression upon their rulers as well as the outside public. Their cause stands to the general outside public, and I may say even to the political workers in the Congress and other organisations, in the same relation as cause of Swarajya in British territory stands to the political parties in the Parliament and outside Parliament in England. Vicarious effort and vicarious sacrifice really do not count. You know the well-known Marathi saying: "Santosh mehnatki sangi, dhat nahi," i.e., "you have to die if you wish to see Paradise with your own eyes. Sympathy from the observing world is indeed helpful. But it is only a stimulant and cannot take the place of food. The wrestler in the fighting pit gets generous applause from an admiring crowd, and the umpires in the ring may be trusted to enforce the rules of the game and to see that no foul play takes place. But all the physical vigour and strain and all the urge of ambition must come out of the wrestler himself. On the same analogy I say to the peoples in the Indian States that they must take the movement for their freedom in their own hand, and may, then, look to the political leaders in British India for sympathy and advice. I know it means suffering for them. But they should not expect to get freedom so cheap. They have too long dodged and beat about the bush by holding States Conferences outside their State territory. They should hereafter hold no Conference except in their own territory, and even offer Satyagraha for this purpose if the rulers prohibit the Conferences. A wise Chief or Prince will generally feel inclined to grant this permission; and if so, the State people must make it easy for him to give the permission by agreeing, if necessary, to eschew from their deliberations all criticism of the British Government except such as may strictly bear on their own domestic problems, and criticism of his ruler. They must not put their ruler in an awkward or indefensible position by the discussion of irrelevant matters and irresponsible orations. The general theory of the rights of a subject people and the departmental administration in their own State ought to be theme enough for any of the most advanced views they may have to urge. And their ruler cannot possibly make a more reasonable offer to them than to offer himself and his State as a whole target for their broadsides. They should remember that the political agent would hold their Prince in a nut-cracker. With an unreasonable Chief, however, there need be no compromise. The fundamental political rights of humanity must be asserted against him and to defy his power and authority for this limited and legitimate purpose of the freedom of speech and association, would not only the fittest answer to a sultani firman from him, but perhaps also the best ultimate curative for his undisciplined temper. A more complicated question apparently would be the laying the venue of an All-India States Conference in the territory of a State itself. But it is really not so difficult a solution.

And if the States' subjects make their mind to do all this, sympathy and assistance will flow to them from all quarters in unstinted measure. I am aware that they make it a grievance that the National Congress takes no interest in their affairs. I think the grievance is legitimate within certain limits. For in my opinion while the Congress is right in excluding from its jurisdiction the discussion of the affairs of internal administration of Indian States, it is wrong in its general attitude of indifference towards States' questions even in their broad and impersonal aspects. I am aware that the Indian States are allowed to be represented in the Congress session and the Congress government through adjacent British districts to whom they may be allotted; and that the States' constituencies have exercised their rights in this respect. But the Congress goes no further. What Congress SHOULD DO.

It is unreasonable to claim that at every session of the Congress there should be at least one resolution on the subject of responsible government in Indian States, so that one or two great leaders of the Congress may speak upon the general question, and a few of the States' delegates may incidentally refer to notable happenings in States as illustrations. But the Working Committee during the last few years was apparently so absorbed in its own affairs that it put forward no official resolution on the subject before the Subjects Committee. Curiously enough also the reference to the Indian States contained in Mahatma's presidential address was coincidental. He rightly asked in his Swarajya scheme for a full guarantee of their status, to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in self-governing India. The States' people would have felt immensely grateful to Mahatma if he could have enlarged that reference so as to contain his full throated assertion for them of their rights to Swarajya within their own States. Mahatma's name will go down to posterity as an illustrious champion in his time and generation of the uplift of the down-trodden people of India; and surely the voiceless subjects of Indian States may well be counted under that category. It is the Congress which has put life into the dead bones of the Indian people in British India; and it is the Congress which should follow up that noble work by openly and unflinchingly championing the cause of the Indian States' people. I know some Congress leaders have exaggerated notions of the status and dignity of our Indian potentates. I think I am as jealous an advocate and defender, as any of these gentlemen, of both these precious possessions. I am also opposed to those who want the abolition of Indian States and the throwing of all the crowns and coronets into the melting pot. But I firmly hold that the only tenure on which these great and fortunate potentates, the gift of the Gods, can be allowed to hold their power and possessions is the grant by them to their subjects of the rights of Swarajya according to the genius of the coming generation.

Mr. Satyamurti of Madras, who is a subject of the Padukota State moved the only two resolutions which contained the gist of all that the State subjects wanted at present to be done. Mr. Satyamurti in a vigorous speech said that for some observations of his as President of the Padukota Conference an external order was issued against him. By a strange irony of fate the ruler of Padukota never returned to his State and abdicated. The order against him was withdrawn and he was allowed to enter the State and he did enter. He urged on the State's people that the democratic wave had come. The Indian Princes, talk of their status. But they are lambs before the British wolf. They are not real Sovereigns. They have thrones and they wear coronets but a strong Viceroy can put them all into his pocket and take them quietly to Delhi. If they establish responsible government in their States they will be really powerful, and be able to hold their heads high. The Prince's claim descent from Shri Ram and Shri Krishna but they should possess their virtues.

DOUBLE DESPOTISM.

There are no connecting interests between the rulers and the ruled in Indian States. The princes will be doing real service to their subjects if they lead the movement of Swarajya by themselves, managing responsible government in their States. They will teach a good lesson to the British viceroys who are boasting that they are the teachers of responsible government. The subjects of the Indian States are labouring under a double despotism. They are Dadas of Dadas. They are ruled by puppets who are in their turn controlled by the politicians. The British Government will not help the States. The last resort of the British bureaucracy would be the Indian States. He will fight the last battle on the State soil. The subjects of Indian States should, therefore, vigorously organise and have a separate conference elsewhere. They must agitate and carry on this struggle for freedom with sustained energy, ability and great sacrifice.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Mad. havan from Trancore who incidentally referred to the Vaikunta Satyagrah movement. Mr. Subramanya of Bangalore supported it in Canara and Mr. Kanhyalal Kalastri in Hind.

Mr. Raghavendra Sharma of Hyderabad proposed thanks to the chair and the meeting terminated. About a thousand people from all States attended the meeting. There was an invitation from Shriyut Surajmal Jai to hold the next conference at Khandwa.

(Continued from Column 6.)

tianity and Islam but a direct challenge from the West to East. Let us therefore, realize the seriousness of the situation and prepare ourselves for the coming fight. Our methods of fighting must necessarily be non-violent both in principle and practice. But we cannot accept the challenge until and unless we are all united. The attainment of Swaraj is our national goal. On this point there is difference of opinion but Swaraj can never be attained without Hindu-Muslim Unity. Let us therefore put our heads together and in a frank, fearless and honest manner solve the Hindu-Muslim question and bring about real solidarity in the national camp. Some people call me aggressive in view of my outspoken statements I have had the occasion to make in my address. I feel the time for white-washing for mere patching up differences is gone. We must tackle this question in a straightforward manner like men, and devise means to bring about a lasting settlement of Hindu-Muslim troubles. Let us put our house in order, organize the forces, and prepare ourselves to take up the fight for national freedom in real earnest. At the present juncture we can only pass resolutions of sympathy with Egypt and other Islamic countries, but if we only make up our minds I feel sure that before the year is over we shall find ourselves in a position to give such an account of ourselves as to render effective help to those who are in need of it. Remember again that freedom of India means freedom of all Islamic countries and of the East as a whole.

UNITY AMONG MUSLIMS.

(Continued from page 9.)

a good augury. If I amended this resolution it would have been in this manner that this Province should be given to the people of this Province (cheers). If a line be drawn from Sahampur to Constantinople you will find that on both sides this line there are Muslims inhabiting the land. Their rights are trampled upon simply because we are being kept in slavery. Rampur soldiers are called Telangs, namely, men from Telugu, why because there were the soldiers from Telugu land and South India who with Clive conquered Northern India, and in this way the people of conquered province by joining the troops of the British strengthened the bond of slavery to the people of other lands. The foundation of Greek learning and culture was that people of other nations should serve the Greeks, and Aristotle has said that "wisdom is of two kinds, one is of free people and the other of slaves so that they may understand the orders of their masters." This second type of education is given to the people for which a school has been opened in Jamrud. If the rights are not given at least a good education like the people of England should be given to the people of N.W.F. Provinces. On many political questions I differed from late Mr. Beck, but he declared in frankly and knew that his pupils were like the pupils from Oxford and Cambridge. About 67 crores of rupees are spent on the Frontier Province for nothing. If Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Das, Pt. Motilal Nehru and my friend Mr. Raza Ali will go to the Frontier they will know this matter full well. I had been to Frontier in 1914. I know the people very well. I only say that those rights which we slaves have got should also be given to them.

The President said that as his name had been mentioned and as he had been to N.W.F.P. as a member of a Committee and knew the people of N.W.F. well, he would say that N.W.F.P. had not got the capacity of self-government, because the greatest criterion of self-government was that the people should be able to protect themselves and he knew that the people of N.W.F.P. were capable of protecting themselves.

ENFORCEMENT OF WAKF ACTS.

Dr. Shafiat Ahmed Khan in moving the resolution regarding the enforcement of the Wakf Act said:

The meaning of the Wakf Act is that a report of income and expenditure should be presented to the Government annually and the public should have a right to see the accounts. Some people said that this would be additional burden on the Court but it was a matter for gratification that with all these drawbacks his Act had been passed.

NATAL ORDINANCE.

Mr. Ayub Khan in supporting the resolution about Natal Ordinance said:

When the time of asking money came, it was asked from us but when the time of satisfaction of our rights came they were not satisfied and it was urged that the rights could not be given to a black man. It was the duty of the Government to guard their interest and protect Indians in the foreign countries. He appealed to them to sink their differences and urged that Hindus and Muslims should be like brothers.

It was they who had taught Europeans how to wear clothes and now it came in the way of their progress. If they would press their rights they would get it, but they should not budge an inch from the position they had taken though it might cost them their lives.

INDIA RESPONSIBLE FOR ASIA'S SLAVERY.

Dr. Kirehlew in moving the resolution regarding Egypt said:

My friend the proposer of this resolution has given you the history of Egypt from time immemorial up to the present day. He has told you how the forces of reaction and imperialism were destroyed by the forces of Liberty and Independence under the lead of Moses. He has graphically described the great struggle which took place between Moses and his people on the one hand and Pharaoh and his armies on the other. He has also hoped that the forces of reaction even today will be defeated in the land of Egypt. But now I ask, where would Moses come from? That is our prophet is gone but our spirit is represented by the people of the land who are fighting for the noble cause of liberty and freedom and for the establishment of democracy throughout the East. The cause of the Egyptian people is just and righteous and I have no doubt in my mind that it will ultimately come to success. Salvation of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Palestine in fact of all the Eastern countries depends on the emancipation of India. In my mind the Indian nation is responsible for the slavery of Islam and the East generally. We, the Indians, therefore, must realize this important fact and do all in our power to free our Motherland from foreign bureaucratic control and live the life of a free nation which is our birth-right. I am not going to enter into details of the question now confronting Egypt. The mover has sufficiently dealt with the subject. Let me frankly tell you that the murder of one Englishman has been unjustly exploited by the Conservative Government of England. The English Parliament has taken a mean advantage of this episode and has made an attempt to deprive Egypt of her liberty. I am glad that we have got to deal with the Government of England, which let it be said to its credit, is at least frank and honest in the enunciation of its policy and the method of its work. Some Indians had great hopes, false hopes no doubt, in the Labour Government and its policy towards Indian aspirations but that Government falsified those hopes by sanctioning repression in Bengal. Now under the regime of the Conservative Government in England we know exactly where we stand. By introducing that cruel policy of repression in Egypt and at the same time in Bengal the present Government has thrown a challenge not only to India but to all the Eastern nations. Please remember it is not a quarrel between Chris-

(Continued in Col. 5.)

NON-BRAHMIN CONGRESS.

GOAL—HOME RULE WITHIN EMPIRE.

NEW CONSTITUTION.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
MADRAS, Dec. 21.

Rao Bahadur O. Thanikachalam Chetty, General Secretary, All-India Non-Brahmin Congress Committee, has sent a list of resolutions passed at the Congress. Among the important resolutions passed at the All-India Non-Brahmin Congress at Belgaum was one defining the objects of the Congress which is attainment of Swaraj or Home Rule for India as a component part of the British Empire as early as possible by all peaceful legitimate and constitutional means by promoting good will and amity among the different communities of India through safeguarding their interests of communal representation and by social amelioration and reorganisation. The All-India Non-Brahmin Congress organisation will consist of All-India Non-Brahmin Congress Committee, Provincial Non-Brahmin Congress Committees, District Non-Brahmin Congress Committees, sub-divisional or Taluka Non-Brahmin Congress Committees affiliated to the District Committees and political associations or public bodies recognised by the Provincial Non-Brahmin Congress Committee.

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE.

The All-India Non-Brahmin Congress Committee shall at present be constituted as follows:—(1) Twenty-four representatives, one representing each district of the Madras Presidency. 2 Two members representing the city of Madras. 3 Fifteen representing the Bombay Presidency and Bombay City represented by two additional members. 4 Eight representatives for Central Provinces and Berar and one for the city of Nagpur. There will be a General Secretary for the All-India Committee, two Provincial Secretaries each for Bombay and Madras and one for the Central Provinces and Berar. The headquarters of the All-India Non-Brahmin Congress shall be at Madras and Rao Bahadur O. Thanikachalam Chetty, M.L.C. will be the General Secretary of the All-India Committee which is requested to frame and publish before the 1st May, 1925, detailed rules for the Non-Brahmin Congress. The President was authorised to nominate one representative of the depressed classes for each of the three presidencies and also six other members to the All-India Committee.

Important among the other resolutions passed were one expressing the opinion of the Non-Brahmin Congress that it can co-operate only with those political bodies which have for their goal Swaraj or home rule within the British Empire whose methods of agitation are strictly of constitutional character not calculated to bring the Government to a standstill by direct action or other similar methods and which recognise the principle of communal representation in the services of the country.

Another resolution asked for a revision of the Constitution towards greater self-government and the third one asked for adequate representation of non-Brahmins in all legislatures and increasing the Non-Brahmin element in the services.

BENGAL ORDINANCE.

MR. MUDALIAR'S DENUNCIATION.

The following are further extracts from the Presidential address of Mr. A. R. Mudaliar delivered at the Non-Brahmin Conference held at Belgaum on 28th December:—

It seems therefore abundantly clear that the time has come for a revision of the Act and for making a further stage in the progress for responsible self-government. We who have worked the Reforms and are aware of its restrictions and limitations are unequivocal in our demand and I know that more than one High Administrator is of the same opinion among the bureaucracy. What then shall be the next stage of development? What is the minimum advance that will meet the necessities of the situation? I need hardly tell you that as a party we are against catinism changes and that our vision of the political future of the country is sobered by the realisation of the practical limitations that surround us. We are moreover averse to forming a flying column which marches far ahead of the rank and file leaving them to lag behind. We are anxious to take the masses with us, to look at the problems that face the country from their point of view and to urge for those changes only which are calculated to benefit them. Realising therefore these essential facts I venture to place before this Conference what I consider to be the next step in responsible self-government which will satisfy the political aspirations of the large body of constitutionalists.

(a) Full Provincial autonomy should be granted to the executive completely responsible to the Legislature. That is to say, all subjects in the Provinces should be transferred to the control of Ministers and the Province should have the right to raise loans, to impose and alter provincial taxes and generally to manage all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province. (b) The need for obtaining the previous sanction of the Government of India regarding legislation on any provincial subject shall be dispensed with, the assent of the Governor for a bill passed by the Council being alone required. (c) The term of office of future Members of the Legislative Councils should be five years. (d) The question of lowering the franchise should be examined, but any extension of franchise should be coupled with an increase of the strength of the Council and a decrease of the size of the electorate. (e) A measure of responsible Government

should be introduced in the Government of India. (f) All measures passed by the Assembly except finance bills should be approved by an Upper Chamber. (g) The control of the Secretary of State and of Parliament should be relaxed to the extent that responsibility is introduced in the central Government. (h) The question of division and reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis should be taken up immediately, and settled as early as date is possible.

This is a very rough sketch of the reforms which I believe will meet the needs of the situation. It is not my purpose here, nor have I the time, to examine in detail the various safeguards necessary to carry out these suggestions. The limitations within which a Provincial Government can raise loans, the settlement of inter-provincial matters, the restrictions to be placed on the Governor's power to withhold assent to a bill, the relations between the Senate and the Upper Chamber in the Imperial Government have all to be examined at much greater length and satisfactorily settled.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

In the very forefront of my demands for immediate satisfaction, I would place the question of provincial autonomy and full responsible Government in the provinces. The unbending exercise which the Government of India exercises over the activities of the Provincial Governments the resultant atrophy of the beneficial intentions of such Governments has been the theme of long dissertations not of irresponsible agitators but the most staid and respectable of administrators. From the days of the Decentralisation Committee and even long before, publicists of repute and bureaucrats of eminence have condemned the centralisation of authority in the hands of the hierarchy at Imperial headquarters and I could quote pages of volumes of minutes of distinguished statesmen in support of the position. Why, today if for a moment we leave aside the question of responsible Government, there is not one Anglo-Indian or Indian who would oppose the proposal to free the Provinces from the control of the Government of India and give them autonomous Government.

If therefore Provincial autonomy is accepted as an immediate necessity, it follows as an essential corollary that responsible Government should be established in the provinces. You cannot remove one control without substituting another in its place: you cannot have the provincial scraps pursuing the even tenor of their ways, untrammelled by control from above and unhampered by criticism from below. It is one of those axiomatic principles of political science that I feel it will not be questioned to-day. I am glad and indeed thankful that that great statesman who presided with such conspicuous ability over the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras for over a decade and to whose personal efforts more than to anything else, the two provinces owe their ordered progress during a period of stress and generally unsettled state, I am glad to see that Viscount Willington has thrown in the weight of his high opinion on the side of progress. His Lordship is reported to have stated recently that the Provinces should have full responsible and autonomous Government and our thanks are due to him for his noble championship of our cause at a time when it is generally believed that the forces of reaction and conservatism are in the ascendant.

LAW AND ORDER.

It is generally asserted that the subject of law and order casts such onerous responsibilities on those who are charged with administering it, that it is unsafe to transfer it to the hands of popular leaders. There can be no greater misapprehension and the whole history of democratic Governments proves that the preservation of internal order is best done not by autocracies but by those who can speak in the name of, and act on behalf of the people. The reason is not far to seek. If there is one subject more than another in which the willing consent and co-operation of the people ought to be secured it is the task of keeping law and order. There should be no room for popular sympathy with those who break the very foundations of progress and good Government. And those who sit aloof—far from the maddening crowd—are they terribly handicapped however noble their motives, however excellent their deeds, in their attempts to preserve internal peace.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE.

Take the Bengal ordinance relating to the anarcho movements in that unfortunate Presidency which has received unanimous condemnation at the hands of all sections of the Indian Public. We have found ourselves unable to support the authorities first because the normal procedure of consulting representative public opinion through the reformed Councils has not been adopted and secondly and even more because the actions of the bureaucracy in the past have not inspired us with that confidence in the necessity and wisdom of their acts which we must have, ere we give our support to such extreme steps. If only the subject were transferred, if the subject of law and order were in the hands of a Minister, if he had after examining the whole political situation and given his best consideration to the reports of his confidential advisers and above all after that personal investigation which he as a popular leader can make by his close intimacy with responsible leaders of public opinion, if after all this he, a Minister, had taken the same step how much surer would the Government have been of public support, how much more certain would the Minister have been to get at least one section of the public and the larger section, members of his own party, to support him in the drastic steps that he has taken to suppress crime and to put down anarchy. And in the most democratic countries has not this exactly been the case? Read the history of Siam, the Coercion Acts passed by the Parliament, the measures which Mr. Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland forged through the House of Commons and you find for yourself that it was the solid support of his party which sustained him in

his distasteful task. The reason is obvious. These extraordinary steps, these Draconian powers can be justified not so much by reason and logic, not by proof for it is not forthcoming, but by complete faith and trust. And that trust can never be forthcoming unless the administration is in the hands of an elected member of the people. It is indeed a matter of surprise to me why this psychological fact is not appreciated, and the simple criticism is not often advanced that law and order are not safe in democratic hands.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

Gentlemen, I have tried to show you what I consider are the lines of reform which may be immediately adopted. The question will at once arise and I can picture cynical readers exclaim, how is even this modest piece of reform to be achieved. Are we to adopt a policy of mendacity, pass resolutions by the score praying the authorities to grant them and then disperse home. These are requests which deserve to be granted, but what is the sanction behind it all, what is the compelling force that will induce those in authority to accede to these requests. How are you going to see that the objects are realised? I confess quite candidly that there is no sanction behind these suggestions in the sense of a physical compelling power which can coerce the grant of them. I confess that there is no attitude of faith or sword which I can take up in making these demands. But I believe that there is a sanction far more valuable than brutal force or the threat of it, far more effective than the fire and the sword, far more efficacious than violence or the suggestion of it and that sanction is the will of a united people. It is the moral sanction that is behind the desire of a nation which must even be the compelling force that makes a nation meet another nation's demands. And I am not so poor a student of the lessons which the Great War has taught, so cynical of the potentialities of a body like the League of Nations, so out of touch with modern tendencies, towards the moral pressure which settles all questions arising between races, nations or countries, that I can cease to have faith in that moral sanction. Our best argument, our greatest force, our real ultimatum is the united voice of a nation. Let the nation therefore express itself clearly and unmistakably and I have no doubt about the results.

WANTED UNITY.

And this brings me to the question of the union of the different political parties in the country for concerted and harmonious action. I am one of those who feel acutely that our greatest drawback at the present day is the lack of unity that is so conspicuous. The past year has been one of the worst on record and has shown the country as torn by warring creeds and faiths, as rent by conflicting political opinions and dogmas. Let us be quite frank and indulge in some plain speaking. The Hindu and Mohammedan especially in Northern India are separated more widely than ever, now that their extraterritorial patriotism, their anxiety for the Khilafat and for the liberation of Turkey or Iraq or Angola is past and the necessity for Hindu opinion strengthening their hands is over. The Sikhs and the Hindus, the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins, the Liberals and other parties, the Swarajists and the No-changers, the depressed classes and the higher castes are all massed in opposing groups banded together in separate camps. The Congress which only a couple of years back gave signs of having achieved unity, which by the support it gave to the demand for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres and similar Muslim demands drew large numbers of Moslems to its fold, which by its mystic tenets and quasi-religious practices attracted the large mass of the people, must to-day confess that that union has been of a very nebulous nature, that its ranks are depleted of Moslems and that the large body of its members have no faith in its mysticism.

The question therefore of a fresh attempt being made at achieving real unity more substantial and more lasting, is the first need of the hour and I welcome the formation of the unity Committee which will discuss the question at Delhi in the coming month. If the spirit which created us in Bombay continues to guide us in our deliberations I have high hopes of the Committee coming to a satisfactory conclusion. A determined effort must be made to bring about if not absolute union or merger of parties at any rate the possibilities of co-operation and joint action. But in this effort we cannot afford to lose sight of first principles, to sacrifice the essential creed of our party. There can be no compromise so far as our goal is concerned, the attainment of Swaraj or Home Rule within the British Empire. Neither can we be equivoal as regards the methods by which such goal can be reached. Ours are the constitutional methods. We cannot practise the method of direct action, of non-co-operation which does violence to the constitution itself. Nor can we take to what are termed obstructive methods, of wrecking the Councils of refusing the responsibilities of office. Apart from the fact that these are essentially unprofitable deviations from the path which leads to our goal, they have proved disastrous to the real interests of the country. It is hardly necessary for me to examine the merits of this policy and no higher condemnation of it can be forthcoming than that which the Right Honourable Colonel Wedgwood, a gentleman considered by the Swarajists themselves as a true friend of India if one may judge by the telegraphic message which their leader sent on the eve of the British elections, has made in the communication which was published some days back in the Madras Press. Within reasonable limits therefore, the methods by which the goal should be reached, must be clearly settled and there ought to be no room for unconstitutional activities and illegal tendencies being adopted by any section of the united political body.

I have already referred to the important part which communal representation must play in the future development of the country. In addition therefore to a clear understanding as regards the goal and the methods to be adopted for attaining

taining the goal, this principle of adequate representation of all communities, both in the honorary offices of the state and in the public services—which has been the piece-de-resistance of Indian politics so far—has to be adopted if union is possible or is desired by any section of the people. An efficient administration has been well defined by one of the idealist of thinkers as one which commands the trust of the people and I cannot conceive of an administration which will command that trust among the masses if it is the peculiar preserve of a particular class. And let me here strike a note of warning. The Lee Commission has suggested the formation of a Public Service Commission basing the idea on Australian, Canadian and South African parallels and has thereby reiterated the necessity for giving effect to the provision in Section 96-C of the Government of India Act. The Public Services Commission will be charged with the duty of recruitment for the All-India Services as the Agent of the Secretary of State, and other central services and if a Local Government should so desire for Provincial services. It is therefore a body which is likely to play a most important part in the future progress of the country. It is high time therefore that we should make our position clear with reference to such a Commission. The principle underlying recruitment to the services, of not allowing any one community to preponderate, of stopping the enlistment of members of particular communities till a more equitable adjustment of the representation of other communities is made possible, should be prominently placed before such commission as its guiding principle. Unless this is done the Public Service Commission will be a hideous mockery and will not receive that regard and respect which an institution of the kind should have if it is to function properly. In the second place, its personnel should be so chosen as to be representative of important communities like the non-Brahmins of Madras, of Dekkan and of the Mahomedans. The Lee Commission suggests that Commissioners should be detached as far as practicable from all Political associations. It seems to me with all respect, to be a most fatuous suggestion. I cannot conceive of a single important gentleman of the 'highest public standing' whether he be an Indian or European, whether already in service of whose mind is so vacant, whose principles are so non-existent, whose opinions are so devoid of all political things, that he can be said to be detached from politics or political predilections. On the other hand I think that the one way, how confidence can be instilled into the public mind regarding the actions of this Commission, is by appointing men whose views are clearly known to the public and who are not dark horse likely to take fatal jumps at the wrong fence.

To return to the main question which I was dealing with, namely the question of unity, I believe that if the three principles which have been set forward are acceptable to all parties then we might consider the possibility of united action. I personally do not believe in merger, in wiping out your own existence, in scrapping your associations and in being absorbed into any other body. I do not think such a consummation would be really in the interests of the country. I rather believe in concerted action, in joint work, in co-operation and I would therefore suggest that our party and its associations should be kept up as a distinct entity and that we should find a common platform with other parties for particular purposes. It will strengthen us, strengthen our fellow workers and really prove of great benefit to the country.

AN OMINOUS MOVE.

Recent events, however, make it abundantly clear that the forces of disintegration have asserted themselves in the Councils of the Indian National Congress, and thanks to the vacillations and peace-at-any-price attitude of some, and the extremely selfish and inordinately vain attitude of others it seems absolutely certain that there is little possibility of union or even of united action. When, a couple of months ago, an invitation was extended to various political bodies to meet on a common platform to discuss the question of unity, it was presumed that there was a genuine desire on the part of the organisers for such a unity and we non-Brahmins were anxious to reciprocate, even at some sacrifice, in view of the larger interests at stake and for the sake of the country. We had forgotten for the time being, the many indignities that had been heaped on us, the many unscrupulous and mischievous charges levelled against us and guided by this one desire for compromise we gathered together to deliberate and to come to some agreement for joint concerted action. You are aware of the resolutions passed at Bombay by the Congress Committee which constituted there, and of the questions referred for consideration to that committee. The one question that was vigorously criticised on that occasion by delegates of all shades of political thought was the Bengal pact which was hatched in secret and sprung on an unconscious and surprised public one fine morning. And it was freely given out that nothing was calculated to shatter the possibilities of any union, of even the remotest probability of any closing up of the ranks than the continuance of that pact which had within it all the essentials of a diabolical plot.

Its very origin was shrouded in mystery. Soon after the passing of the Bengal ordinance, a means which has been most assiduously exploited by the Swarajists of Bengal to serve their own selfish ends and to rehabilitate themselves in the country. Mr. Gandhi was invited to Calcutta and in the rather tense and electric atmosphere of Bengal, the twin leaders of the Swarajya Party or rather its chief protagonists Mr. C. R. Das was able to play on his fine feelings with such success that practically everything which the Swarajists wanted were conceded. I have no quarrel with the Congress for setting its own domestic problems and those of us who are outside it have no right to question either the wisdom of their action or the justice of it. I should have been inclined to leave them severely alone but for other considerations and for the implications of it. Many of the leading Indian politicians had to concede from this organisation, built up with so much of loving care and personal sacrifice, by such worthy Indians as Sir

Pherozsha Mehta, Mr. Gokhale and Dadabhai Naoroji, because of the change in its methods of work, because of its vague ideals and because of its insisting on certain rigid conditions of entry. The triple boycott that it proclaimed with so much of gusto had fizzled away, and some of the Congressmen themselves had emerged from the chrysalis stage of non-co-operation to the butterfly stage of Swarajists. They had realised the folly of their ways and had come to the view which we held in 1920, that non-co-operation was as dangerous as it was futile, that keeping out of the Councils was as fruitless as it was meaningless. And probably within a very short time, at least in one province, the Swarajists are likely to realise that keeping out of the Cabinet is equally futile and if I can prognosticate coming events, it is more than likely that we shall have one provincial Cabinet at least, where the Swarajists will speak of non-co-operation from within the Cabinet even as they now speak of non-co-operation from within the Council.

SICKENING HYPOCRISY.

But whatever may be the changing principles of these Swarajists and however much they have receded from those principles of the Congress which were once hallowed as the essential verities of life, you find to-day that they are hugged and worshipped by Congressmen even as Cain of old was hugged by Abel and it is significant that while the prodigals are benedicted and patronised, the few straight, simple folk who cannot stretch their conscience to swallow the bitter potion are treated with that contempt and scant courtesy so characteristic of these ingrates. I ask you to examine for a moment what this is due to. There can be no doubt that if the Swarajists had not revolted, if they had not given their ultimatum, if they had not threatened to secede as a body from the Congress and if they had not planned to form their organisation and give the Indian National Congress a decent burial should their wishes not be complied with—I say if they had not openly and resolutely threatened a revolt, they could not have brought the Congress on its knees, made it eat the humble pie, forced it to give up its three boycotts, compelled it even to yield in the matter of the spinning franchise and in fact so emasculated it that to-day there is no such thing as the Indian National Congress; it is merely a docile, impotent and meek conglomeration of individuals ever to play the part of 'Johukums' to the Swarajists of unrepentant audacity.

THE COUNCILS.

The extent of the surrender will easily be realised on an examination of the so-called Council pact. The Subjects Committee has resolved that the Congress should be represented in the Councils by the Swarajists who are of two castes, the Congress Swarajists and the Council Swarajists, the former condescending to accept the so-called spinning franchise, the latter maintaining their independence, not accepting any of the conditions imposed on Congressmen, but only co-operating with the Swarajists—and yet both are to speak on behalf of the Congress, on behalf of the country and act on behalf of the great political body. I have read of many constitutions tried to understand the principles underlying the Government of many political associations, but I must confess, I have never come across the like of the brilliant suggestion which could only have emanated from fertile brains of our Swarajist friends. That is the next democratic step that the Dasties are going to usher in this unfortunate country, should they be given the chance, a democracy where those who are not if the democracy will speak and act on behalf of the large body, a democracy where a tyrannical minority will speak on behalf of a majority.

THE ULTIMATUM.

The Congress having given us the ultimatum, our duty is clear, we were and we are anxious for unity, but it shall not be unity at any price and it shall not be unity leading to political suicide. If unity is not achieved, the fault cannot be ours. The machivavean policy pursued by these so-called Swarajists, whether of the Council entry breed or of the Congress breed, is the greatest evil with which the country is threatened. Already ruin and disaster have overtaken the country. The Bengal Swarajists have rivaled the Mahomedans from the Congress fold and made them determined to pursue an independent existence. In other provinces, the Liberals have been slaughtered and emasculated. Yet when the Indian National Congress appeals to us for unity and calls on us to do this or that, we can only take the charitable view that they are blinded by their own intoxications and are incapable of viewing things in their proper perspective. That all parties should join and swell the Congress while only one party is allowed to represent it in the Councils, is consistent with the old puranic view, wherein we non-Brahmins are all asked to join in feeding and helping the Brahmin and the Brahmin alone is allowed to enter the holy of holies, interpret our wishes and prayers to the almighty. A proposition of this description will appeal to Pandits, but you self-respecting non-Brahmins, I feel confident that you will have little hesitation in threatening this monstrous proposal with the contempt which it deserves.

We are not afraid of standing on our own legs and withstanding the attack of our opponents. Let there be no mistaking. The struggle in view of recent events seems to be long bitter, but I know you will not flinch from it. There is one last chance, we shall await the results of the Unity Committee and if there is no possibility of arriving at any satisfactory understanding, then there is no question of what our attitude should be. The challenge has been cast, the gauntlet has been thrown and we shall pick it up as befits men, as befits non-Brahmins and we shall not quiver or waver.

(To be Continued.)

BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY.

SAVING OF RS. 11,22,886

RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION.

An interim report has been submitted by the Retrenchment Advisory Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation regarding the retrenchment proposals submitted by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the Retrenchment Adviser to the Corporation. The report is signed by Dr. K. E. Dadachanji, Messrs. Jannadas M. Mehta, Byramjee Jeejeebhoy and C. W. F. Arbuthnot. The report states:—

The Committee have held five meetings and have discussed with the Retrenchment Adviser most of the suggestions for reform in the Municipal Administration as well as the questions of retrenchment, but it is this latter aspect of the enquiry that they are now reporting upon, the reforms not being sufficiently advanced for any detailed report thereon to be made at present. The Retrenchment Adviser has now submitted to the Committee notes and schedules in respect of retrenchments in the Engineering, Public Health Conservancy, Hospitals, and Markets Departments. Out of an expenditure in the Departments named of Rs. 1,25,54,137 proposed in the Budget for 1925-26 savings have been made amounting to Rs. 11,22,886. Over the corresponding expenditure in 1921-22 Budget the savings amount to Rs. 11,35,574.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

The question of retrenchments in the seven Administrative and Revenue Departments has not yet been dealt with by the Retrenchment Adviser as he states that such retrenchment is dependent upon reform, and re-organization which will be included in the second stage of the enquiry. He further states that no retrenchments appear possible under the heads of Education, Fire Brigade, Gardens and Museum.

The Committee understand that the retrenchment proposals now submitted have been thoroughly discussed with the Commissioner and the Heads of Departments, and the Commissioner has expressed himself as satisfied that the reductions proposed can be effected. The Executive Engineer, however, represents that if a reasonable rate of progress is to be maintained in road improvement, some portion of the savings now effected will have to be restored in future years.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL RELIEF.

The retrenchment of Rs. 1,11,904 in the Public Health and Medical Relief services is the result of proposals which were put forward by the Health Officer (Dr. J. M. Sandilands) at a very early stage of the enquiry. It will probably be remembered that prior to the appointment of the Retrenchment Adviser the Health Officer had expressed his readiness to reorganise his Department and to effect whatever economies were possible. The scheme put forward by the Health Officer was examined by the Retrenchment Adviser and subject to a few minor alterations were accepted by him.

The Committee also desire to point out that the saving of Rs. 83,194 on the pumping and compressor stations service is almost wholly due to the installation of the electric pumps at Love Grove which were suggested by the Executive Engineer and the Mechanical Engineer as being a more efficient and economical method of working than the old steam pumping plant.

WATER WORKS DEPT.

Of the savings of Rs. 33,464 in the Water Works Department, approximately Rs. 15,000 is dependent upon the Corporation relieving the Department of the responsibility for the repairs to internal water fittings in private houses.

The Retrenchment Adviser will, in his final report, summarise the whole of his proposals, and will include therein the reports of the Retrenchment Officers containing the arguments and figures upon which his conclusions have been based.

The Committee after careful consideration and in consultation with the Commissioner have unanimously agreed to the retrenchment proposals submitted, and have, as authorised by Corporation Resolution dated 17th July 1924, requested the Commissioner to give effect to the proposals so far as they rest with him.

The Committee have further requested the Secretary Retrenchment Enquiry, to submit all the schedules to the Standing Committee so that the revised figures may be embodied in the budget for 1925-26 which they now have under consideration.

A QUERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—Will anyone advise what should be done when a magazine (particularly an illustrated one) of special occasion does not reach its subscribers?

The publishers of the magazine say that they have posted it and so they are not responsible. The subscriber must apply to the postal authorities. On reaching the postal authorities a printed formal reply is given or at the most some such thing like "cannot be traced, sorry."

The publishers ask for extra registration charges if they will it to be secured non-delivery. Is this not coming down between two stools—loss of magazine on the one hand, more money on the other. What to do to avoid either.—Yours etc., K.

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JAPAN LETTER

KOREA'S PLIGHT

THE "BEGGAR NATIONS."

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

TOKYO, Nov. 23.

The Youngman, Daisuke Namba, who shot at the Prince Regent about a year ago and was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court has been hanged, cremated and his ashes scattered at different places by the Japanese prison authorities. There was no appeal from the sentence as the Supreme Court acted as the Court of First Instance superseding about forty judges and procurators. The accused too, who behaved very defiantly during the trial expressed no desire for appeal or mercy. Some sort of leniency, it is reported, would have been shown to Namba and the extreme penalty not imposed upon him had he not created scenes in the Court Room. Even while he knew that he would have to pay with his life, Namba never showed any signs of repentance and is said to have always begged almost with tears for literature pertaining to Socialism. In ordinary cases, the sentence of death is not carried out until after a lapse of five days from the date of its pronouncement, and in the majority of the cases the execution is usually postponed for months. As it was a case of less magnitude and no loopholes for the mitigation of the sentence had been left, Mr. Namba was hanged at the Ichigaya Prison in Tokyo three days after the verdict had been given by the Supreme Court. The promptness with which the execution took place was at the express desire of the Minister of Justice to relieve him from mental torture.

DIED CALMLY.

Namba was as calm and possessed of self-composure on the day of his execution as he has been during the entire period of his confinement. He was kept in jail for practically a year and examined by the best brains of the empire but he incriminated nobody and expressed no regrets which shows that he was possessed of an iron will and an unusual resolution. On the day of his death, he took breakfast in the morning and then talked for about 30 minutes with one of his lawyers in a very jovial spirit. At the advice of the prison Governor, he left four letters for his parents, brothers and sisters begging pardon of them for the agony his acts might have caused them and thanking them for the help given him while he was alive. These letters are extremely brief and couched in the simplest language. With his eyes bound, he was led to the gallows after having been given his last admonition by the Buddhist Priests attached to the prison, and life ceased within 18 minutes. His behaviour at the time of death was so exemplary that the officials who had been deputed to witness the execution could not help being impressed with it. The prison authorities sent a telegram to the Namba family but none of his relatives or friends came forward to claim his corpse which was at first kept in the morgue and then cremated, the ashes having "for certain reasons" been scattered in different places. This ends the episode of a youth who for the first time in Japan's history made an attempt on the life of a member of the ruling family.

KOREA'S PLIGHT

Japanese who have dared to criticize their rule in Korea or sympathized with the helpless people of the Peninsula are very few and can be counted on fingers' ends. Recently an anonymous writer has published some very impartial as well as fair remarks about the state of things in Korea. The credit for giving publicity to these honest views is due to the editor of the Choo Koo (Central Review) which is one of the first-rate, widely circulated and best read magazines in Japan. A few excerpts as translated by the "Japan Chronicle" are as follows:—

"Conditions in Korea are such that no one with even a slight acquaintance with them can look on without apprehension. We have many friends in Korean official circles, and they are agreed in telling us that things in Korea are calmer than usual and that the majority of the Koreans have no longer any spirit to protest against the Japanese administration of the country. Some of them have even warned us against the empty and irresponsible talk of Korean students in Tokyo. Not a few of these used to show our opinion concerning Korea before they took up office there. They went away free of prejudice against Koreans, and few of them have escaped having their brains moulded in a certain identical style. They are perhaps unconscious of the change. At any rate, there is no doubt that Japan-Korean officials are all cast in the same mould. The harvest in Korea has been exceptionally bad this year. One is apt to consider a bad crop in Korea to be just like a bad crop in Japan. But such is by no means the case. In truth, even in normal years the generalities of Koreans experience greater sufferings than are undergone in a bad year in Japan, and when the harvest is so bad as it has been this year, they are reduced to such a distress that they really will have nothing to eat. Things may perhaps be managed somehow during the remainder of the year, but what will become of them as month after month passes? Have we not here an occasion crying for our great efforts not merely for considerations of policy but as a question involving the life or death of our next-door relatives? The establishment of more military divisions is not the best precaution against possible trouble.

"For the prosperity of the Koreans the Japanese Government has apparently done much. The monies ostensibly expended in this connection are enormous. But how is it that the Koreans are nevertheless worse off every year? That cannot be the case, say Japanese officials in one voice, but

their denial is belied by stubborn fact. That the Koreans were more distressed last year than the year before and that they are harder up this year than last and that they are fast sinking to the bottom is an undeniable fact into which the Japanese people will do well to institute a careful investigation. According to a friend of ours who is in the employment of a certain company in Korea, the directors of the company spend three-fourths of the year in Tokyo where their families and dependants are also left and yet they are in receipt of several thousand yen a month by way of allowance for service abroad. One of the directors of the same company who had been celebrated for his integrity and incorruptibility while an official in Japan was actually worth several hundred thousand yen when he came home after a sojourn of a few years in Korea.

NOW ABOUT FORMOSA.

It is not always a pleasant experience for a foreigner, living in this country, to pass any critical remarks on Japan's administration of her colonies. We have given above the impartial views of a Japanese publicist on the plight of Korea, to-day, and now quote a few sentences from an editorial in the "Osaka Mainichi" about Japanese rule in Taiwan (Formosa). Says the Mainichi:—

"It is an undeniable fact that the native population of Taiwan has a deep grievance against the Government of that island dominion. The cause of dissatisfaction lies not so much in the material side as in the spiritual side. The spiritual dissatisfaction of the people is so intense that they do not appreciate even the so-called cultural and material development of the island as they would under ordinary circumstances. The reason is clear; it is because they are not given the spiritual freedom which they crave more than anything else. In other words, the islanders are entirely deprived of the cardinal rights of free speech and free assembly. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the more cultured the islanders become, thanks to the widespread education, the intenser will become the dissatisfaction in their hearts. The government of Taiwan must be considered an utter failure, however much it may have succeeded in advancing the material culture, as long as the present system of restriction of speech and gathering is adhered to; for, a good government should first aim at the spiritual satisfaction of the governed before it strives to give them material satisfaction.

"To take the concrete case of the alleged infringement of the Police Regulations for Public Safety against forty odd natives, still undergoing court procedure—these

Taiwanese have been agitating for the establishment of a Taiwan Parliament ever since the 4th session of the Imperial Parliament in a perfectly legal manner, and, therefore, have been entirely un molested in Japan proper. All of a sudden, the Taiwan Government arrested the leaders of the Association formed for that agitation by the force of a Police Regulation newly enacted in January, 1923. The case passed through two successive Courts, the first decision being "Not Guilty" while, in the second Court, they were found "Guilty." We do not know what final judgment will be meted out to the accused at the third Court. . . . The most absurd part of it is that the Taiwan Government never allows the publication of any news concerning the proceedings of the Court and exercises the strictest censorship of newspapers published in Taiwan and in Japan proper. To be more fundamental, where is the reason for the Taiwan Government to charge Taiwanese agitators with disturbing the public safety when they make legal petitions to the Imperial Parliament for the establishment of a local assembly, with a view to looking after the welfare of the islanders under law?

"The sentence of the second court is based on the ground that these men 'continued their political activities,' but why should they not be permitted to take any part in the politics of the Empire, of which they are subjects under the law? . . . The present policy of the Taiwan Government of stifling the existing dissatisfaction of the natives by force is absolutely untenable, if the Government aspires to any real success in its rule in that dominion. The time is long passed when any oppressive policy of this kind can achieve its object. We are much afraid that, unless the authorities in Taiwan awake to the need of the times, all their past efforts, as well as present, will be in vain. . . . There is greater apprehension that the lurking unrest in Taiwan will go from bad to worse."

THE "BEGGAR NATIONS."

Mr. Juko Shiga, a noted Japanese writer, who made a tour of the world recently in the cause of a greater Asia has returned home much disappointed and given vent to following views in Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin (Japan and the Japanese):—

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through Canada. During the course of my frequent tours around the world, I found to my great regret that all Asiatics, except our countrymen and Chinese, had deteriorated into a state of beggary. I know that the masses of Eastern Europe are mean and avaricious, but they are not beggars. The peoples of Northern Europe can be called gentlemen, who, appear in certain respects like our old Samurai. From my personal experience, I concluded that (1) Japan should in no way be connected with such beggar nations of Asia; that the principle of Greater Asia was after all nonsense; that it was a matter of course that Japan should encourage and assist these beggar nations to restore their energy and vigor; (2) that American exclusion of Asiatics was justified, for their primary intention was to keep their blood pure and unadmixed; and (3) that the loud clamour for Greater Asia or an Asiatic Federation would be sure to incline Americans to reject an alliance with Canada and other Anglo-Saxon peoples to resist Japan, which would be suicidal to this nation. It is for these reasons that I determinedly oppose the contemplated Federation of Asia or the principle of Greater Asia. This would provide a very interesting reading for some of our moderate leaders whom Mr. Shiga accuses of having studied at a close range.

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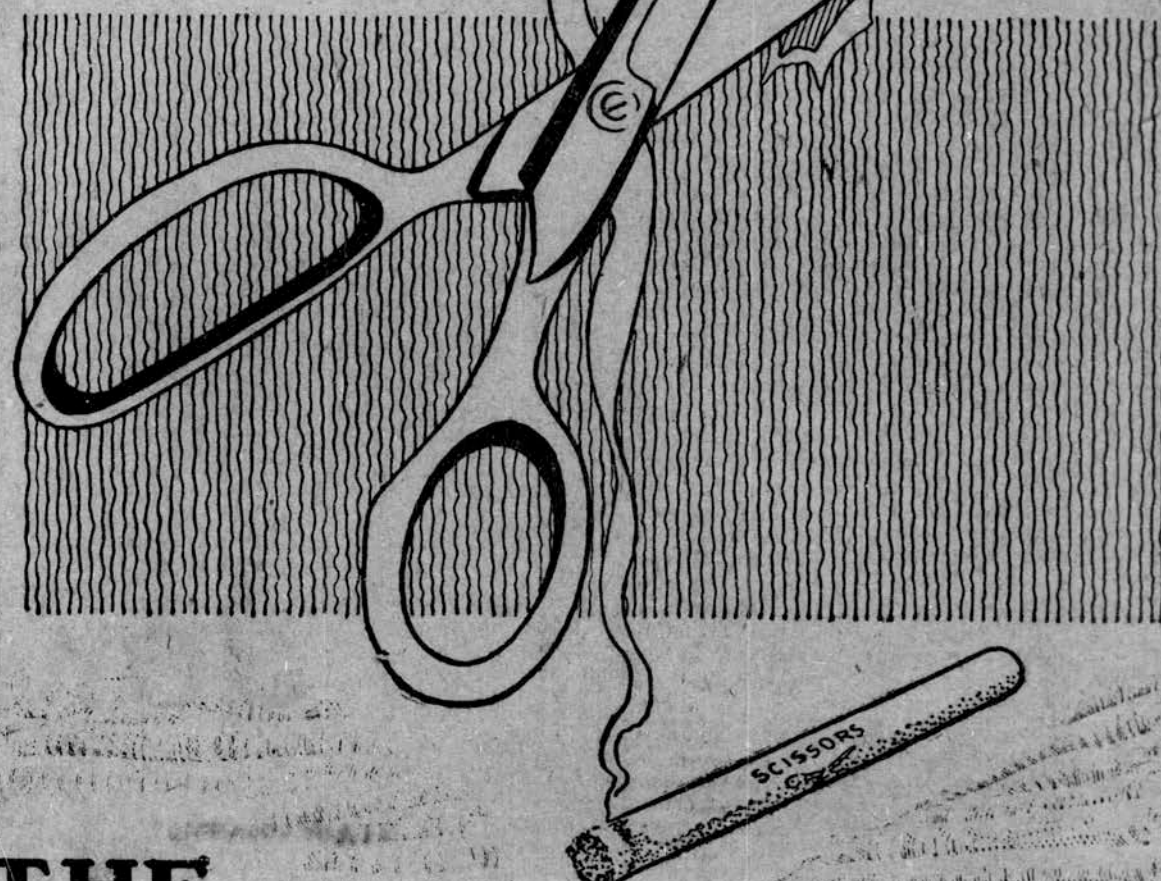
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